

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED
By VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY
F MAX MULLER

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST SERIES

IN 50 VOLUMES

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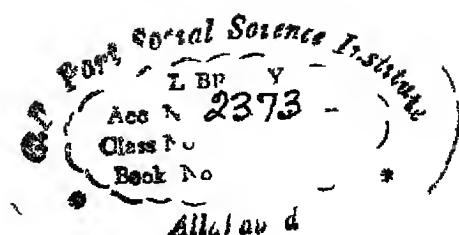
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THE ZEND-AVESTA

TRANSLATED BY
L H MILLS

PART III
THE YASNA VISPARAD, ĀFRĪNAGĀN, GĀHS,
AND
MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Delhi Varanasi Patna



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I am very glad to know that the Sacred Books of the East, published years ago by the Clarendon Press, Oxford which have been out-of-print for a number of years, will now be available to all students of religion and philosophy. The enterprise of the publishers is commendable and I hope the books will be widely read.

S RADHAKRISHNAN



PUBLISHER S NOTE

First, the man distinguished between eternal and perishable. Later he discovered within himself the germ of the Eternal. This discovery was an epoch in the history of the human mind and the *East was the first to discover it*.

To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of this religious consciousness of man must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world. In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the Religions of the East, we must have before all things complete and thoroughly faithful translation of their Sacred Books in which some of the ancient sayings were preserved because they were so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. They contained eternal truths, expressed for the first time in human language.

With profoundest reverence for Dr S Radhakrishnan, President of India who inspired us for the task, our deep sense of gratitude for Dr C D Deshmukh and Dr D S Kothari, for encouraging assistance, esteemed appreciation of UNESCO for the warm endorsement of the cause, and finally with indebtedness to Dr H Rau, Director, Max Muller Bhawan, New Delhi, in procuring us the texts of the Series for reprint, we humbly conclude

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PREFACE

IT would savour of affectation for me to say very much by way of meeting the necessary disadvantages under which I labour as in any sense a successor of Professor Darmesteter. It is sufficient to state that I believe myself to be fully aware of them, and that I trust that those who study my work will accord me the more sympathy under the circumstances. Professor Darmesteter having extended his labours in his University found his entire time so occupied that he was obliged to decline further labour on this Series for the present. My work on the Gathas had been for some time in his hands¹ and he requested me as a friend, to write the still needed volume of the translation of the Avesta. Although deeply appreciating the undesirableness of following one whose scholarship is only surpassed by his genius, I found myself unable to refuse.

As to my general treatment, experts will not need to be informed that I have laboured under no common difficulties. On the one hand it would be extremely imprudent for any scholar not placed arbitrarily beyond the reach of criticism to venture to produce a translation of the Yasna Visparad, Âfrinagân and Gâhs without defensive notes. The smallest freedom would be hypercriticised by interested parties and after them condemned by their followers. On the other hand even with the imperfect commentary which accompanies the Gathas here the generous courtesy of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press has been too abundantly drawn upon. One does not expect detailed commentaries in this Series. My efforts have therefore been chiefly confined to forestalling the possible assaults of unfair or forgetful critics and so to spare myself in so far as it may be possible the necessity for painful rejoinder.

¹ See the *Revue Critique* Nov. 26 1883

To print a commentary on the Yasna &c which would be clear to non specialists and at the same time interesting, would occupy many times more space than could be here allowed. In treating the Gâthas however even at the risk of too great extension I have endeavoured to atone for the necessary obscurity of notes by ample summaries and a translation supported by paraphrase as such matter has more prospect of being generally instructive than a commentary which must necessarily have remained obscure. These summaries should also be read with the more indulgence as they are the first of their kind yet attempted, Haug's having been different in their scope. With regard to all matters of mere form I expect from all sides a similar concession. It will, I trust be regarded as a sufficient result if a translation which has been built up upon the strictest critical principles can be made at all readable. For while any student may transcribe from the works of others what might be called a translation of the Yasna to render that part of it termed the Gâthas has been declared by a respected authority the severest task in Aryan philology¹. And certainly if the extent of preparatory studies alone is to be the gauge the statement cited would not seem to be an exaggeration. On mathematical estimates the amount of labour which will have to be gone through to become an independent investigator, seems to be much greater than that which presents itself before specialists in more favoured departments. No one should think of writing with originality on the Gathas or the rest of the Avesta who had not long studied the Vedic Sanskrit, and no one should think of pronouncing ultimate opinions on the Gâthas who has not to a respectable degree mastered the Pahlavi commentaries. But while the Vedic thanks to the labours of editor and lexicographers has long been open to

¹ Es bilden diese fünf Gâthas die insgesamt metrisch abgefasst sind den sprachlich wichtigsten aber auch den weitaus schwierigsten teil des ganzen Avesta ja man kann sagen ohne dass man furchten muss der ubertreibung geziehen zu werden sie bilden den schwierigsten teil der ganzen indogermanischen philologie. Altiranisches Verbum von C Bartholomae Einleitung s 3

hopeful study the Pahlavi commentaries have never been thoroughly made out, and writer after writer advances with an open avowal to that effect, while the explanation if attempted involves questions of actual decipherment and Persian studies in addition to those of the Sanskrit and Zend and the language of the Gâthas requires also the study of a severe comparative philology and that to an unusual if not unequalled extent

The keen observer will at once see that a department of science so circumstanced may cause especial embarrassment. On the one hand it is exposed to the impositions of dilettanti and the hard working specialist must be content to see those who have advanced with studies one half or less than one half completed consulted as masters by a public which is only ignorant as regards the innermost laws of the science, and on the other hand the deficiencies of even the most laborious of specialists must leave chasms of imperfection out of which the war of the methods must continually re arise. In handling the Gathas especially I have resorted to the plan of giving a translation which is inclusively literal¹ but filled out and rounded as to form by the free use of additions. As the serious student should read with a strong negative criticism he may notice that I strive occasionally after a more pleasing effect, but as we lose the metrical flow of the original entirely such an effort to put the rendering somewhat on a level with the original in this respect becomes a real necessity. I have however in order to guard against misleading the reader generally but not always indicated the added words by parenthetical curves. That these will be considered unsightly and awkward, I am well aware. I consider them such myself but I have not felt at liberty to refrain from using them. As the Gâthas are disputed word for word I could not venture to resort to free omissions, and what a translation would be without either additions or omissions may be

¹ That is approximately so absolute literalness, even when treated as I propose would be unmanageably awkward. In another work I give a word for word rendering of the Gathas.

seen from the occasional word for word renderings given. Beyond the Gâthas I have omitted the curves oftener. I have in the Gâthas as elsewhere also endeavoured to impart a rhythmical character to the translation, for the reason above given and foreign readers should especially note the fact as well as my effort to preserve the colour of original expressions otherwise they will inevitably inquire why I do not spare words. To preserve the colour and warmth and at the same time to include a literal rendering it is impossible to spare words and syllables and it is unwise to attempt it. Non specialists may dislike the frequency of alternative renderings as leaving the impression of indecision while at the same time a decision is always expressed by the adoption of a preferred rendering. The alternatives were added with the object of showing how nearly balanced probabilities may be, and also how unimportant to the general sense the questions among specialists often are.

In transliterating I have followed the plan used in the preceding volumes to avoid confusion but since the first volume was published great progress has been made in this particular and in a separate work I should have adopted a different arrangement¹. As to other unimportant variations from the preceding volumes in matters of usage and fashion, I trust that no one will dwell on them for a moment². As regards the usual and inevitable differences of opinion on more serious questions see the remarks in the Introduction³. I would also state that I have often avoided rendering identical passages in identical language as irksome both to reader and writer. I have also not invariably cited the obviously preferable variations of text which have been adopted, and which are so familiar to the

¹ Chiefly as to 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 𐬫 𐬬 𐬭 𐬮 𐬯 𐬰 𐬱 𐬲 𐬳 𐬴 𐬵 𐬶 𐬷 𐬸 𐬹 𐬺 𐬻 𐬼 𐬽 𐬾 𐬿 but I write a s b z

As in Âramaiti Vohu Manah &c. I also write Neryosangh and in a few places Gâtha(â) Ahunavaiti(i) &c. I regret not to have written Mazdâh everywhere.

² Where I differ from Professor Darmesteter I desire to be considered as merely proposing alternative renderings. I have therefore omitted a mass of references to the previous volumes as unnecessary.

eye in Westergaard Spiegel and Geldner. The texts of Westergaard have been followed necessarily as to extent of matter as this work is printed before the completion of Geldner's text. The oft recurring formulas and prayers at the ends of chapters and sections have been left unrendered and finally for the most part unnoticed, by striking out the useless notes. Citations of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations have been given occasionally in full in order to meet the extraordinary statements which sometimes appear to the effect that they have not been vital to the interpretation of the Gâthas. But by giving these extracts and by frequently citing the Pahlavi Neryosangh and the Persian I have perhaps exposed myself to the misconception that I am an extreme advocate of the so called tradition¹ whereas all conscientious critics will acknowledge that I follow the indications of these works with more reserve than any writer who professes to have studied them, in fact I may well apprehend censure from traditionalists in this particular. These Asiatic renderings are cited by me the more fully when those who neglect them agree with their indications, and they are therefore cited to show that whereas those most opposed to them are nevertheless for getfully indebted to them in nearly every line therefore in all cases of great difficulty they should be studied as an absolute necessity before rash conjectures are adopted. For it is exactly where we are all most in doubt that their indications become of most worth when rationally considered. These translations should be examined for the relics of the truth, the hints, and traces of original explanations, which may most abound where they are themselves most faulty as translations. I therefore never search them for exact reproductions. But the citations which I give

¹ The relics of a tradition direct from the fountain head are present in the Asiatic commentaries and also the relics of a tradition from later and, as it were modern scholarship and lastly there are also present the direct results of an ancient scholarship but to speak of the Pahlavi translations as tradition is merely to use a convenient phrase. I know of no scholar who supposes these commentaries to be in a simple sense tradition from the earliest Zend writers.

here constitute only a very small fraction of those needed. An argument should be built up on the fullest statements of the circumstances elucidated with scientific completeness. This alone would have any prospect of obliging investigators to acknowledge the truth for not only inertia and prejudice are arrayed on the other side but even interest. This much is said of the Pahlavi translations for Ner is properly cited only as a translation of a translation and as such of the highest authority¹ so of the Persian.

Zendists will observe that I by no means abandon explanations merely because they are old a practice which seems almost the fashion. I however fully approve of testing and assailing again and again all suggestions whether old or new. I would simply assert that while the tasks before us remain still so very extensive it would be better for scholars to exercise their sagacity upon passages which call loudly for wise conjecture leaving those which are clear as they stand for later assaults. It will be seen that I myself by no means approve of refraining from conjecture² but I would only in all humility insist that we should not abandon ourselves to unprepared conjecture. As is known³ I have attempted the present rendering after more than ten years of close labour and after a full trans-

¹ It is to be hoped that our occupations are sufficiently serious to allow us to pass over the imperfections of Neryosangh's Sanskrit style. He was especially cramped in his mode of expressing himself by a supposed necessity to attempt to follow his original (which was not the Gathic but the Pahlavi) word for word. His services were most eminently scholarly and considering his disadvantages some of the greatest which have been rendered. Prof R v Poth and Dr Aurel Stein have kindly transcribed for me valuable variations.

² It will be regarded however as especially desirable that in a report from a specialist to the learned public in general the texts should on no account be violated by conjectural improvements where they are at all translatable alternatives are therefore added. As has been remarked by a recent reviewer on the new version of the Scriptures there is scarcely a line of very ancient writings which scholars are not tempted to amend but such emendations are seldom agreed to among specialists. A first translation would always be attempted with the texts as they stand.

³ See the *Athenæum* April 12 1884 and the *Academy* Sept 13 1884. On the entire subject in its connection with the Gnostic and modern philosophies my special labours have included a much longer period of time than that mentioned.

lation of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations together with an edition of the Zend, Pahlavi Sanskrit and Persian texts of the Gâthas. It is proper to add that for the purpose of keeping the judgment free from prejudice and open to honest conviction from the influence of the *Rig veda*, I have followed the practice for a number of years of transcribing the Hymns of the Veda into English in word for word written studies having already so treated by far the greater part of them—some of these are in curtailed statement others needlessly full. I have also on the other hand turned a large portion of the Gâthas into Vedic Sanskrit. (This, however is practically a universal custom as all words are compared with the Vedic so far as analogies exist between the Gâthas and the *Rîks*.) If therefore the opposed schools regard me as erring in too implicit a reliance on the hints of the Asiatics on the one side or in too decided a tendency to read the Gâthic as Vedic on the other they may be assured that I have not erred from interest or prejudice. That my results will please both parties it is folly to expect in fact perfection in the rendering of the Gâthas (as of some other ancient works) is for ever unattainable and not to be looked for—moreover it would not be recognised if attained for no writer whosoever he may be, can produce a rendering of the Gâthas without meeting the assaults of ignorance or design. However imperfect my results may be supposed to be it is to be hoped that they will contribute some little toward establishing a convention among scholars as to what the Gâthic and Zend writings mean—meanwhile it is confidently expected that they will fulfil the requirements of the science of comparative theology. Whatever may be the ultimate truth as to questions of close detail the Yasna as well as the rest of the Avesta is clear as to its creed.

My list of obligations is a long one in fact so long that I fear I can express but little compliment in naming advisers as I have made it a practice to consult all available persons as well as books. Making one exception I will therefore reserve to myself the pleasure of recalling them to a future occasion.

It is sufficient to say here that while I follow a new departure in the treatment of the Asiatic commentaries yet the most prominent writers of the opposing schools have courteously favoured me with their advice. Availing myself of the exception named I would take the liberty to express my gratitude here especially to Dr E W West our first authority on Pahlavi for placing at my disposal various readings of the Pahlavi text of the Yasna of which we have hitherto only possessed a single MS in the Pahlavi character then contained in the oldest Zend writing the Codex numbered five in the Library of Copenhagen. The variations referred to were transcribed by Dr West from the venerable MS the hereditary property of Dastur Dr Gâmâspgî Minoêihargî Asana of Bombay and written only nineteen (or twenty two) days later than that numbered five in the Library of Copenhagen. By this generous loan I have been enabled to print elsewhere the first text of the Pahlavi of the Gâthas yet edited with comparison of MSS likewise also for the first time translated in its entirety into a European language. For this Dr West, during an extended correspondence has furnished me with information on the Pahlavi not obtainable elsewhere together with corrections and revisions. There is another eminent friend whose sacrifices of time and labour on my behalf have been exceptional but I will defer the mention of Zend scholars.

I take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments to Professor Dr von Halm of the Hof und Staatsbibliothek in Munich for allowing me the free use of Codex 12^b of Haug's Collection both at Stuttgart and Hanover also to Professor Dr Wilmanns of Göttingen Geheimrath Dr Forstemann of Leipzig and Herr Rath Bodemann of Hanover for the loan of a large number of valuable works from their respective public libraries, often, with great liberality renewed.

L. H. MILLS

HANOVER, February 1886

INTRODUCTION

MANY readers for whom the Zend Avesta possesses only collateral interest may not understand why any introductory remarks are called for to those portions of it which are treated in this volume. The extent of the matter does not appear at first sight a sufficient reason for adding a word to the masterly work which introduces the first two volumes and in fact save as regards questions which bear upon the Gâthas I avoid for the most part for the present all discussion of details which chiefly concern either the sections treated in the first two volumes or the extended parts of the later Avesta treated here. But the Gâthas are of such a nature and differ so widely from other parts of the Avesta that some words of separate discussion seem quite indispensable and such a discussion was recommended by the author of the other volumes. A second reason why a word of introduction is necessary when the translation of the successive parts of the Avesta passes from one hand to another is a reason which bears upon the subject with exceptional force.

It is this the Avesta while clearly made out so far as the requirements of comparative theology are concerned, yet presents difficulties as to minute detail so great that as yet no two independent scholars can entirely agree as to their solution. Master and pupil friend and friend must differ and sometimes on questions of no trivial moment.

The preliminary studies requisite to the formation of ultimate opinions are so varied and of such a nature, involving the rendering of matter as yet totally unrendered with any scientific exactness in either India or Europe that no person can claim to have satisfied himself in these respects. Scholars are therefore obliged to advance biased by the fact that they are preponderatingly Iranists or preponder

atingly Vedists and therefore certain at the outset that they must differ to a certain degree from each other and to a certain degree also from the 11th. It was also as might well be understood without statement with a full knowledge of the fact that I was inclined to allow especial weight to a comparison with the Veda and that I modified the evidence or tradition somewhat more than he did that Professor Darmesteter urged me to accept this task. But while I am constrained to say something by way of a preparatory treatise here a sense of the fitness of things induces me to be as brief as possible, and I must therefore ask indulgence of the reader if my mode of expressing myself seems either rough or abrupt.

As to what the Gathas are in their detail enough has been said in the summaries and notes. From those representations, necessarily somewhat scattered, it appears that they comprise seventeen sections of poetical matter equal in extent to about twenty five to thirty hymns of the *Rig veda* composed in ancient Aryan metres ascribing supreme (beneficent) power to the Deity Ahura Mazda who is yet opposed co-ordinately by an evil Deity called Aka Manah or Angra Mainyu. In all respects save in the one particular that He is not the Creator of this evil Deity, and does not possess the power to destroy him or his realm this Ahura Mazda is one of the purest conceptions which had yet been produced. He has six personified attributes (so one might state it) later but not in the Gâthas described as Archangels whole in the Gâthas they are at once the abstract attributes of God or of God's faithful adherents upon earth and at the same time conceived of as persons all efforts to separate the instances in which they are spoken of as the mere dispositions of the divine or saintly mind and those in which they are spoken of as personal beings having been in vain.

We have therefore a profound scheme perhaps not consciously invented but being a growth through centuries and this system is the unity of God in His faithful creatures. It is not a polytheism properly so called as Ahura forms with his Immortals a Heptade, reminding one of the Sabellian Trinity. It is not a Pantheism, for it is especially

arrested by the domain of the evil Deity. It might be called if we stretch the indications, a Hægionism a delineation of God in the holy creation. Outside of the Heptade is Sraosha, the personified Obedience (and possibly Vayu as once mentioned) and as the emblem of the pious is the Kine's soul, while the Fae is a poetically personified symbol of the divine purity and power. As opposed to the good God we have the Evil Mind or the Angry (?) Spirit, not yet provided with full personified attributes to correspond to the Bountiful Immortals. He has, however a servant Aeshma the impersonation of invasion and rapine the chief scourge of the Zarathustrians and an evil angel the Drug personified deceit while the Daevas (Devas) of their more southern neighbours (some of whose tribes had remained as servile castes among the Zarathustrians) constitute perhaps the general representatives of Aka Manah, Aeshma, the Drug &c. The two original spirits unite in the creation of the good and evil in existence both actually in the present, and in principles which have their issue in the future in rewards and punishments. The importance of this creed so far stated as the dualistical creation and as an attempted solution of the hardest problem of speculation should be obvious to every enlightened eye. If there existed a supreme God whose power could undo the very laws of life no evil could have been known but the doctrine denies that there is any such being. The good and the evil in existence limit each other. There can be no happiness undefined by sorrow and no goodness which does not resist sin. Accordingly the evil principle is recognised as so necessary that it is represented by an evil God. His very name however is a thought or a passion while the good Deity is not responsible for the wickedness and grief which prevail. His power itself could not have prevented their occurrence. And He alone has an especially objective name and one which could only be applied to a person. These suggestions, whether true or false are certainly some of the most serious that have ever been made¹ and we find them originally here

Haug long since called attention to the likeness of Hegelianism to the

As to the nature of religious rewards and punishment we have suggestions scarcely less important in the eye of scientific theology and as a matter of fact very much more extensively spread. To say that the future rewards held out in the Gathas were largely if not chiefly spiritual and in the man himself would be almost a slur upon the truth. The truth is that the mental heaven and hell with which we are now familiar as the only future states recognised by intelligent people and thoughts which in spite of their familiarity can never lose their importance are not only used and expressed in the Gathas but expressed there so far as we are aware for the first time. While mankind were delivered up to the childish terrors of a future replete with horrors visited upon them from without, the early Iranian sage announced the eternal truth that the rewards of Heaven and the punishments of Hell can only be from within. He gave us we may fairly say through the systems which he has influenced, that great doctrine of subjective recompense which must work an essential change in the mental habits of every one who receives it. After the creation of souls and the establishment of the laws which should govern them. A *amaiti* gives a body and men and angels begin their careers. A *Mathra* is inspired for the guidance of the well disposed. The faithful learn the vows of the holy system under the teaching of the Immortals while the infidel and reprobate portion of mankind accept the seductions of the Worst Mind and unite with the *Daêvas* in the capital sin of warfare from wanton cruelty or for dishonest acquisition. The consequence of this latter alliance is soon apparent. The *Kine* as the representative of the holy people laments under the miseries which make Iran a life a load. The efforts to draw a livelihood from honest labour are opposed but not frustrated by the *Daêva* worshipping tribes who still struggle with the Zarathustrians for the control of the territory. The *Kine* therefore lifts

chief ideas in the Zarathustrian philosophy as centring in its dualism. And I think that it is quite evident and I believe conceded by experts that the Hegelian sublated dualism is a descendant from the Zarathustrian through the Gnostics and Jacob Boehme.

her wall to Ahura and His Righteous Order Asha who respond by the appointment of Zarathustra as the individual entrusted with her redemption, and he, accepting his commission begins his prophetic labours. From this on we have a series of lamentations, prayers, praises and exhortations addressed by Zarathustra and his immediate associates to Ahura and the people which delineate the public and personal sorrows in detail, utter individual supplications and thanksgivings and exhort the masses assembled in special or periodical meetings.

Here it must be noted that the population among whom these hymns were composed were chiefly agriculturists and herdsmen. Circumstances which affected their interests as such were of course paramount with them and as their land and cattle represented their most valuable property whatever threatened them was the most of all things to be dreaded. Accordingly rapine and the raid whether coming from Turanians or Dæva worshippers were regarded as the most terrible of visitations. But their moral earnestness in their determination to avoid rapine on their part even when tempted by a desire for retaliation is especially to be noted. It was as awful when regarded as a sin as it was when suffered as an affliction and their animus in this particular was most exceptional. While the above facts explain to us on the one hand the principal deities and the peculiar hopes and fears which inspired their worship they lead us also on the other hand to wonder the more that so subtle a theology as we have found expressed in the documents should have arisen amid so simple a community.

In the course of the recitations we have also special intimations of an organised struggle of the Dæva party to overwhelm the Zarathustrians. At times they seem very nearly to have accomplished their object. A distinct reference to a battle in the lines occurs while sanguinary violence is alluded to more than once as in

They pray against Aeshma without qualification. They might practise desolating havoc in time of war but the raid as in times of nominal peace seems to have been foreign to them.

the line or in skirmish. We conclude from the prevalence of a thankful tone that the Zarathustrians gained the upper hand during the Gathic period but although the result may have been assured the struggle at the time of the last Gatha was by no means over. In the latest Gâtha as in the earliest we have signs of fierce and bloody conflict. The same type of existence prevailed greatly later in the time of the Yasts, but the scene seems very different and Zarathustra's human characteristics are wholly lost in the mythical attributes with which time and superstition had abundantly provided him. By way then of summarising the chief characteristics of his original system we may say that he and his companions were struggling to establish a kingdom under the Sovereign Power of God whose first care was to relieve suffering and shelter the honest and industrious poor¹. This kingdom was to be conducted according to His holy Order or plan of salvation, to be permeated by living Piety and with the ultimate object of bestowing both Weal and Immortality. This high ideal was also not left as an abstract principle to work its way. Society was far too rudimental then as ever for the efficient survival of unsupported principles. A compact hierarchical system seems to have existed the sacramental object being the fire before which a priesthood officiated with unwavering zeal but the traces of this are very restricted in the Gâthas and according to all probability it was greatly less elaborated at that period than later.

Such in very brief outline is the system which meets us as Zarathustrianism in that period of Mazda worship when Zarathustra lived and composed the Gâthic hymns.

As to the further question Who was Zarathustra and when and where did he live? diversity of opinion still pre-

¹ The practical operation of this prime principle seems to have been at times beneficial to a remarkable if not unparalleled extent. Under the Sasanids the lower classes enjoyed great protection. See the remarks of Professor Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy* page 440 ff. Also recall the extraordinary treatment of the poor during the drought and famine under Perozes. The account is however exaggerated. See Tabari II p 130 cited by Professor Rawlinson, p 314.

vails so much so that as regards it I differ slightly even from my eminent friend and predecessor. As such differences on the subject of the Avesta are however matters of course I freely state my impressions. Who was then the person if any person corresponding to the name Zarathustra in the Gâthas? Did he exist and was he really the author of these ancient hymns? That he existed as an historical person I have already affirmed and as to the hymns ascribed to him and his immediate associates I have also no hesitation. Parts of these productions may have been interpolated but the Gathas as a whole show great unity and the interpolations are made in the spirit of the original. And that Zarathustra was the name of the individual in which this unity centres we have no sufficient reason to dispute. The name is mentioned in the most sacred connections as well as in those which depict the reality of the prophet's sufferings and there is no reason at all why it should have come down endeared to humanity, unless it belonged to one who in the presence of a Sovereign and a kingdom could impress his personality with greatly more defined distinctness upon his contemporaries than either that Sovereign or any of his adherents¹. That any forgery is present in the Gâthas any desire to palm off doctrines upon the sacred community in the name of the great prophet as in the Vendidad and later Yasna is quite out of the question. The Gâthas are genuine in their mass, as I believe no scholar anywhere now questions.

For the characteristics of this great teacher, I refer to the hymns themselves which stand alone of their kind in literature. Nowhere at their period had there been a human voice so far as we have any evidence which uttered thoughts like these. They are now some of them the great commonplaces of philosophical religion, but till then they were unheard (*agusta*).

And yet we must say of Zarathustra as of all our first announcers that while he antedates all whose records have come down to us he was probably only the last visible link

See especially the remarks preceding V L

in a far extended chain. His system like those of his predecessors and successors was a growth. His main conceptions had been surmised although not spoken before. His world was ripe for them and when he appeared he had only to utter and develop them. I would not call him a reformer: he does not repudiate his predecessors. The old Aryan Gods retire before the spiritual Ahura, but I do not think that he especially intended to discredit them. One of the inferior ones is mentioned for a moment but the great Benevolence Order and Power together with their results in the human subject Ahura's Piety incarnate in men and their Weal and Immortality as a consequence crowd out all other thoughts. His mental insight is as evident from his system as his deep moral inspiration. As to his secondary characteristics his manner of thought and expression we find them peculiar to the last degree. He has given us writings in which every syllable seems loaded with thought sometimes much repeated and to us of the present day very familiar but then when he wrote one would suppose that he intended to utter his dark speech. Succinctness is carried to an unexampled extreme¹ while the wonderful idea that God's attributes are His messengers sent out into the human soul to ennoble and redeem makes him at times so subtle that the latest scholars cannot tell whether he means Asha and Vohu Manah personified as Archangels, or as the thoughts and beneficent intentions of the Deity reproduced in men. I can recall no passage whatsoever in which Vohu Manah Asha Khshathra &c are not strongly felt to mean exactly what they signify as words while at the same time they are prayed to and besought to come as Gods or angels. Either the personification is purely poetical which would make it as found in the Gathas, considering their age and place a very remarkable phenomenon or else having dogmatically personified the divine attributes Zarathustra never forgets to express a respect which is higher than a respect for persons that is

I regard it as most unfortunate that Zendists should search for easy and natural expression in the Gathas and the expression of commonplace detail. It is only in passionate utterance that their style becomes simple.

a respect for the principles which they represent. In making every laudatory statement however I take for granted what I fear is nevertheless far from uniformly granted and that is, that the reader will weigh well what makes all the difference namely, the very remote period at which we are obliged to place the Gâthas and the comparatively rude civilisation amid which we must suppose them to have been composed. We must set the ideas which lie before us in this framework of time and place. If we fail to do so as a matter of course the thoughts and their expression will contain for us nothing whatever new. But as viewed in the light of relation after long weighing the matter, I cannot refer to them in any other terms than those which I use without becoming aware that I am recoiling through fear of exaggeration from stating what I believe to be the truth.

As to the personal sentiment of Zarathustra we can only say that it was devoted. His word *zruardasti* gives the keynote to his purposes. We are certain that he was a man of courage but that he was not scrupulous at shedding blood is also evident. He was not reticent under misfortune while yet endowed with rare persistence to overcome it.

His sphere was not restricted. The objects which concern him are provinces as well as villages, armies as well as individuals. His circle was the reigning prince and prominent chieftains, a few gifted men deeply imbued with religious veneration for the sacred compositions which had come down to them from primeval antiquity in ancient metres and these together with a priesthood exceptionally pure leading on a sobered population, were also his public. But three orders appear in it the king, the people and the peers. That the times were disturbed is involved in what has already been said. One feature alone needs mention it is that the agitations involved the tenure of the throne. Vîstâspa had no easy seat and the prospect of revolution in the sense of supersedure was continually before him. As to the family life of Zarathustra, we can only say that he commanded respect nothing whatever is further known.

It will be seen from the above sketch that I make the widest distinction between the Gâthic period and that of the

later Avesta. I do so not influenced very greatly by the fact that the Gathas are cited in the later Avesta. Most of these citations are indeed genuine and valid as proofs of priority while others are mere displacements of the Gâthas made for liturgical purposes as Genesis is read in churches sometimes after portions of later matter. But a book may be cited by another when it is merely prior to it and not much older. Nor do I lay too much stress upon the difference between the Gathic dialect and the so called Zend but I do lay very great stress upon the totally dissimilar atmospheres of the two portions. In the Gâthas all is sober and real. The King's soul is indeed poetically described as wailing aloud and the Deity with His Immortals is reported as speaking, hearing and seeing but with these rhetorical exceptions everything which occupies the attention is practical in the extreme. *Grehma* and *Bendva* the *Karpan*s the *Kavis* and the *Usigs*(ks) are no mythical monsters. No dragon threatens the settlements and no fabulous beings defend them. Zarathustra *Gâmâspa* *Frashaostra* and *Maidhyomah* the *Spitâmas* *Hvogvas* the *Haerâs* *aspas* are as real and are alluded to with a simplicity as unconscious as any characters in history. Except inspiration there are also no miracles. All the action is made up of the exertions and passions of living and suffering men. Let the Zendist study the Gathas well and then let him turn to the *Yasts* or the *Vendidad* he will go from the land of reality to the land of fable. He leaves in the one a toiling prophet to meet in the other a phantastic demi god. However ancient the fundamental ideas in the myths of the *Yasts* and *Vendidad* may be (and some of them were certainly older than the Gâthas or the oldest *Rîks*) in the forms in which they now stand they are greatly later.

As we enter into further and necessary detail this seems to be the place for a word as to the relative ages of the several sections which make up these hymns. We see struggle and suffering fear and anger in some of them and we naturally group these together as having been composed at a particular stage in Zarathustrian career. We read expressions of happy confidence and we refer them to a

period of repose as we do those sections where meditation speculation or dogmatic statement are prominent but nothing is certain except that Y LIII must have been written after Zarathustra had attained to a sufficient age to have a marriageable daughter. An ancient leader may have reached a position of influence from doctrinal productions, and afterwards expressed the vicissitudes of an active political career. One circumstance must however be held in view and that is that neither the Gâthas nor any other ancient pieces which were hardly at first committed to writing have been preserved in the form in which they were delivered for the first time. The poet himself would file them into better (?) order at each subsequent delivery and verses which referred originally to one period of time would if especially striking be reproduced in subsequent effusions. And pieces which the composer may have left in one shape his early successors would be likely to modify by interpolations excerpctions or inversions. I believe that the Gâthas show the presence of less foreign matter than is usual and that the interpolations which are present in them are themselves of great antiquity or even practically synchronous with the original. Certainly few of them show anything like an ingenious attempt at imitation. If there exist any interpolations and we may say a priori that all existing compositions of their antiquity are and must have been interpolated the additions were the work of the author's earliest disciples who composed fully in his spirit while the position of sections in this or that Gâthâ has little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age the metres being all ancient and the Ustavaiti Spenta mainya &c showing as decided evidence of originality as any parts of the Ahunavaiti. (See remarks on the Gâthâ Ustavaiti p 91 ff)

As we proceed from the question of the relative age of the particular sections as compared with each other to that of their age considered as a whole we are first met by the question as to place. Were the Gâthas first sung in the East or the West of Iran? I would here say that I regard this point as especially open as I am even inclined to differ in one particular from my eminent friend

Professor Dümesteter but let it be understood only or chiefly as to the place of origin of the Gathas. I think that the scene of the Gâthic and original Zarathustrianism was the North east of Iran and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathustrian tribes were migrating westward in Media.

One certain fact is the occurrence of geographical names in Vendidad I which are obviously intended to describe the earliest homes of the Iranian races whose lore was the Avesta. The present forms of those names as they appear in the Avesta are indeed not the most ancient but they occur in passages which plainly repeat very ancient myths. These names describe a region from the middle of the North of Iran to the East or it including ancient Bactria but extending as far West as Ragha and as the Gâthas are unanimously acknowledged to be the oldest portion of the Avesta dealing as they do with Zarathustra as an historical person we naturally look for the scene of his life in the oldest seats. The Zarathustrian Ragha much further West than the other places mentioned seems to have a special claim to be regarded as his birthplace as it possesses so firm a hold upon his name but the epithet Zarathustrian together with the special eminence of the governor of Ragha as needing no Zarathustra over him, that is no imperial chief (see Y XIX 19) may both be attributed to successors of Zarathustra. From some reason probably the migration of Zarathustrian influence toward the West Ragha became a stronghold of his descendants, or his name entirely apart from all family connection may have become a title for leading politico ecclesiastical officials (compare the Zarathustrotema). There is no mention of a foreign origin of Zarathustra in the Gathas, nor is there any expression from which we might infer it. His family seems as settled as himself. The Spitâmas are mentioned with the same familiarity as the Hvôgvas and the persons named are some of them related to him. He was no isolated figure among the people whom he influenced. Unless then we can place Vistaspa and Gâmâspa, Frashaostra and Maidhyômâh in Ragha we cannot well place Zarathustra there.

for he is to be placed beside them. Tradition of a late and dubious character places Vîstâspa in Bactria but it is better to leave the exact region undecided as certainty can never be reached.

The other circumstances which are imperative with many for a decision for the East as the region where Zarathustra laboured have been stated with perhaps the greatest power and beauty by Darmesteter¹ who still inclines to the West. These are the strong analogies existing between the Zend language and the Vedic Sanskrit on the one side and between the gods, heroes and myths of the Avesta and those of Veda on the other.

As bearing however in favour of a western origin of the Gâthic as well as of the later Avesta we must confess that the West Iranian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions possesses the same analogies with the Vedic which the language of the Avesta possesses with it and no reader should need to be reminded that the West Iranian as well as the East Iranian was in no sense derived from the Vedic. The old Aryan from which all descended was once spread without distinction over both West and East while on the other hand the mythological features of the Avesta kindred as they are to those of the Eastern Veda are yet reproduced for us some of them in the poetry of the mediæval West as drawn from the Avesta and the name of Mazda, unknown (?) to the *Rîks*² appears cut in the rocks of Persepolis and Behistun while all the sacred books of the Zarathustrians including the Gâthas as well as the later Avesta together with their interpretations have come down to us from the West where the Greeks also found their system from the time of Herodotus down.

Added to which we must acknowledge that the differences in dialect between the Avesta and Veda make a wide separation as to place far from startling while myths as well as religions migrate as by a law.

We must therefore consider well before we venture to differ from those who decide for the West as the scene of Zarathustra's life.

¹ See the Introduction to the first two volumes and also Ormuzd and Ahriman.

² But cp. *Rv* VIII 20 17 divo—âsurasya vedhasa/ (medhasa/ (?))

But as we mention the Inscriptions we must make a very careful distinction. Is their theology that of Zarathustra? If it is this would certainly constitute a point in conjunction with the descriptions of the Greeks in favour of a still more extensive prevalence of Zarathustrianism in the West at the dates which the Inscriptions cover.

As to this disputed point I would answer that their theology may be the Zarathustrian in a sense as yet too little applied to the term for it may be Gâthic Zarathustrianism or at least a Mazda worship at a stage of development corresponding to the stage of Mazda worship in which it stood when Zarathustra left it but that it was the later and fully developed Zarathustrianism provided with all the regulations of the Vendidad seems out of the question.

In the first place there is no certain mention of Angra Mainyu or of the Amesha Spenta in the Inscriptions and this silence must be accounted for¹ in any case².

The ready and just suggestion is made that the documents are exceedingly limited that many deities would not be named on so narrow a space while the statements of Herodotus and his successors make it probable that the entire system of Zarathustra was known in the near neighbourhood and must have been very familiar to the persons who ordered the Inscriptions to be cut. To this the necessary rejoinder might be made, that the familiarity of Darius with the later or indeed with the original, Zarathustrianism if he was familiar with it renders the absence of the name of Angra Mainyu at least all the more striking.

What more imperative call could there be for the use of that name than in denouncing the opponents whose overthrow forms the theme of the mighty writings?

As the grace of Auramazda is mentioned on the one

Some relief is given by a mention of the Draogha but the bagâhya are probably Mithra and Anâhita (see the Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon 4) rather than the Amesha Spenta. As we notice the name of Mithra however we must remark that as the Mithra worship undoubtedly existed previously to the Gâthic period, and fell into neglect at the Gâthic period, it might be said that the greatly later Inscriptions represent Mazda worship as it existed among the ancestors of the Zarathustrians in a pre-Gâthic age or even Vedic age.

¹ Angra Mainyu and the Amesha are also prominent in the Gâthas.

side one naturally expects to see some reference to the opposition of His chief adversary on the other and one also expects to trace some certain recognition of the Bountiful Immortals. I think that both were omitted because their names retained less weight as we cannot suppose that they were unknown or if once known then forgotten. But allowing that it is not quite fair to reason from such scanty texts we are met by the positive fact that an important Inscription is written on a tomb¹ and, as the burial of the dead was one of the most flagrant violations of the Zarathustrian ceremonial law it is not conceivable that Darius could have been a Zarathustrian according to the later Faith. He was either a heretical schismatic departing from a sacred precept or he was following the creed of his fathers a Mazda worshipper but not of Zarathustra's order or if a Zarathustrian then a partial inheritor of Zarathustra's religion at an undeveloped stage while burial was not as yet forbidden by it and at the same time he neglected also prominent doctrines of the Gathas.

It is not possible that he could have been an isolated schismatic as to such a particular. If he composed the Inscriptions as a monarch of another religion than that of the later Avesta it would seem to prove either that he was an adherent to a cruder or half effaced form of Gathic Zarathustrianism, which had found its way during the long periods of its existence westward before the later Zarathustrianism arose in the western settlements or else that it, the religion of the Inscriptions simply originated where we find it from an original and wide spread Mazda worship which had not yet forbidden the burial of the dead².

And all are the Inscriptions of buried men. See also the statements of Professor de Harlez on the subject.

² And perhaps it had also not forbidden cremation. Geiger (see *The Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times* English translation by Dârab Dastur Peshotan Saâiganâ, B. A. p. 90) conjectures that the dakhma were originally places for cremation. If this is a correct surmise both burial and cremation may have been permitted at the Gâthic period being forbidden long after. At least the original Mazda worship did not recoil from cremation otherwise the story of the attempt to burn the Lydian Croesus could not have arisen. The earlier Persians had no abhorrence of either burial or burning. Only the developed Zarathustrian Magism of the Medes obeyed the Vendidad.

It is such a Mazda worship once existed in primeval Iran seems certain and that it was greatly earlier than Zarathustrianism¹. It is also very probable that some form of it survived unadulterated by Zarathustrianism. And this is as probable a priori when we reflect on what might have happened, as it is when we seek for an explanation of the burial of a Mazda worshipper in a tomb.

As the Asura (Ahura) worship extended into India with the Indians as they migrated from Iran a form of Asura worship arose in Iran which added the name of Mazda to the original term for God. In the East it began to acquire additional peculiarities out of which when Zarathustra arose he developed his original system while in other parts of Iran and with great probability in Persia it retained its original simplicity. At subsequent periods only the Zarathustrian form spread first at the Gathic stage and later a second time and from a centre further West as the Zarathustrianism of the later Avesta which is reported by the Greeks. Either then Darius was a Mazda worshipper like his fathers following an original and independent type of Mazda worship or he was following a mutilated Gathic Zarathustrianism which may not yet have forbidden burial² he and his chieftains adhering to this ancient form, while the masses yielded to the novelties as the patrician Jews held to Sadduceeism after the masses had become Pharisees and as the patrician Romans clung to Paganism after Rome had become Catholic. In either case it seems to me that the Mazda worship of the Inscriptions might be severed from the later Zarathustrianism and that it must be so severed on some theory or other, all with one voice seem to agree.

In deciding for the North east³ as the scene of Zarathustra's personal labours and for the Gathic dialect as its more particular form of speech I am not I trust solely

¹ Compare even the Scythic name *Thamimasadas* cited by Professor Rawlinson (*Herod* 3rd edn iii p 195). Were branches of the Scyths themselves in a sense Mazda worshippers or could the name have been borrowed?

² And which insisted less upon the personality of Satan.

³ The name Bactrian cannot be considered as more than a convenient expression.

or unduly influenced by the occurrence of the eastern names in the first chapter of the Vendîdâd for those names may indicate primeval homes from which the ancestors of Zarathustra migrated toward the west centuries before his appearance. I merely say that the occurrence of the names shows that the ancestors of the Zarathustrian Mazda worshippers once lived in East Iran and if that is the case their descendants may have still lived there when Zarathustra developed his system and it is also possible that masses of Zarathustrians may long have remained behind in the East Iran an mountains after the Zarathustrians of the later Avesta had gone west. The descendant may have arisen in the home of his ancestors and in fact other things being equal there is a stronger probability that he arose there. I do not think that the appearance of a later Zarathustrianism in the west, is a sufficient reason for doubting that the founder of the system laboured nearer the land of the Vedas, where a Vîstaspa once ruled (?) where a Daêva worship long lingered and where the common names of the Irano indian gods were heard as household words and which we may add was precisely the place where we should suppose the Indo aryaans to have left the Irano aryaans as they descended into the Puñgâb.

Having formed an opinion as to the place where Zarathustra laboured and proceeding to the question as to when he lived and wrote the Gâthas we find ourselves under the necessity to form our estimate first as to the age of the later parts of the Avesta. While interpolated passages, or indeed whole Yasts may be very late I cannot place the later Avesta in its bulk later than the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius for the fact that the Inscriptions preserve either a pre Zarathustrian Mazdaism or the Zarathustrianism of the Gâthas long previous as it was in its origin to that of the Vendîdâd, has nothing whatever to do with the relative age of the Inscriptions themselves. The later Avesta, with its forbiddal of burial and cremation, must have existed for a long time side by side with that religion which has left sepulchral monuments and

whose adherents could contemplate the burning of captives and analogous facts are universal

But aside from the seeming difference in the type of Mazda worship which simply severs the religion of the Inscriptions from that of the more developed Zarathustrianism, and which has as we have seen nothing whatever to do with the question of the relative ages of the Inscriptions and the later Avesta I think that we have some signs of a later age in the language of the Inscriptions apart from their contents. As however Darmesteter is inclined to regard the West Iranian or Cuneiform, as better preserved than the Zend of the later Avesta I make my few remarks only with great hesitation.

The termination **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** which would otherwise be justly considered as an evidence of degeneration in the Zend, I regard as merely a wrong writing for *ahya* = Gâthic *ahyâ*. The letter **𐬨** is a relic of the time when the Avesta stood in the Pahlavi character. I think that it is here merely a lengthened **𐬨** = *ya*¹. Terminations also seem much mutilated in the Cuneiform and the name *Auramazda* written as one word does not seem to me so original.

We must indeed remember that a later generation owing to an isolated position often preserves an older dialect, as it may an older form of religion whereas an earlier generation if its predecessors have lived in a compact society in smaller districts varies the ancient forms as the old Indian developed into Sanskrit and Prâkrit. Still we have little reason to be certain that the civilisation of Media and

Also **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀** is simply *ayam* and should be so transliterated so also in a string of other words. Salemann has noticed the origin of **𐬨** = *ê* but gives no other indication in the present sense. I think that **𐬨** and also **𐬨** where they equal Aryan *ya*, should be corrected everywhere like all other instances of miswriting. Unless indeed we can regard the **𐬨** for which **𐬨** **𐬨** were often clearly miswritten as itself of double significance as in Pahlavi **𐬨** might then regularly and properly equal both *e* and *ya* so **𐬨** may equal long *ê* or *yâ* (*ayâ*). Other instances of miswriting in Zend would be dat dual *bya*. The Aryan *âm* was first written as the nasal vowel *â* and still further carelessly reduced to *a* but never so spoken. On the contrary in the acc fem &c the nasalisation was over written, too much expressed. The final nasal caused the scribes to write the preceding letter as if nasalised *â*, but it was never nasalised in speech.

Persia was either more or less condensed and social than that of Bactria and the East. But beside a priority to the Inscriptions we are obliged to consider the time needed for developments. The Greeks of the time of Herodotus probably and those later certainly found a form of Zarathustrianism in full development in Media, but if the contemporaries of Herodotus heard familiarly of a Zarathustrianism there, a long period of time must be allowed for its development if it originated in Media, and a still longer period if it found its way there from the East. If then the bulk of the later Avesta existed at the time of Herodotus and at that of Darius, how long previously must it have been composed, for such systems do not bloom in a day?

We have the evidence of historical tradition that the Magi¹ were influential even at the time of Cyrus, not dwelling upon the possibility of their existence at the earliest mention of Medes as the conquerors and rulers of Babylon.

Can we then, considering the recognised stagnation of ancient Eastern intelligence, ascribe to the development of the Median Zarathustrianism a shorter period than from one to three centuries? If then the bulk of the later Avesta must be placed so long before the Inscriptions of Darius, where shall we place the earlier Avesta with its most important remaining fragments, the Gâthas?²

After studying the Gâthas carefully in detail and becoming also familiar with them as a whole by frequent perusal, we must measure the time needed for the change from their tone to that of the later Avesta. Could it have been less than a century or centuries? Was not as much time needed for the Zarathustra of the Gâthas to become the Zarathustra of the later Avesta, as was afterwards consumed by the migration of the creed from the North-east, if it really originated there? As there is undoubtedly a

I regard the Magi as representing the Zarathustrianism of the Vendidad. This the false Bardiya endeavoured to introduce, demolishing the temples which the old Mazda worship permitted in Persia. See the Cuneiform Inscription of Behistun II. Darius 61.

All in the Gâthic dialect is old.

difference or several centuries between the dates of the newest and oldest parts of the later Avesta so we must think of a considerable interval between the oldest parts of the later Avesta and the latest parts of the older Avesta for there is the other consideration which imperatively constrains us to avoid concluding for short periods in the stages of development. The Vedic Hymns sung in metres closely similar to those in both the Gâthas and the later Avesta and naming gods, demons and heroes so closely related not to speak of myths challenge us to say whether they are the oldest of them older or later than the oldest parts of the Avesta, and if there exists any difference as to the ages of these ancient productions how great that difference is. The oldest *Rîks* have now an established antiquity of about 4000 were the hymns sung on the other side of the mountains as old? The metres of these latter are as old as those of the *Rîg veda* if not older and their grammatical forms and word structure are often positively nearer the original Aryan from which both proceeded. If it were not for two circumstances we should be forced to ask very seriously which were the older, and to abandon altogether our mention of later dates. Those circumstances are the absence of the Aryan gods from the Gathas and secondly their abstract conceptions. These latter are so little offset with expected puerilities that it is often hard to believe that the Gathas are old at all. Their antiquity is placed beyond dispute by the historic mention of Zarathustra. But if Zarathustra were not indisputably a living man in the Gâthas their depth and refinement together with the absence of Mithra Haoma &c would in themselves considered force us to place them rather late. As it is the absence of Mithra and his colleagues who reappear in the later Avesta, permits us to place the Gâthas considerably later than the oldest *Rîks*. For no sudden and intentional dismissal of the ancient gods is to be accepted with Haug nor any religious schism as the cause⁽¹⁾ of the migration of the Indians toward the south. The process was of course the reverse.

The migrating tribes in consequence of their separation

from their brethren in Iran soon became estranged from them and their most favoured Gods fell slowly into neglect if not disfavour

We need time to account for this change and no short interval of time. We can therefore place the Gâthas long after the oldest *Rîks*. While therefore in view of the established age of the *Rîg veda* the Gâthas may possibly have been composed as early as about 1500 B.C. it is also possible to place them as late as (say) 900–1200 B.C. while the fragments in the Gathic dialect must be considered somewhat later. The dates of the composition of the several parts of the later Avesta, on the other hand must be supposed to extend over many centuries as the various sections in the Zend dialect are so much more numerous than those in the Gathic the Gâthas themselves representing practically but one date. Placing then the oldest portions of the later Avesta somewhat earlier than Darius we are obliged to extend the period during which its several parts were composed so far as perhaps to the third or fourth century before Christ the half spurious matter contained in them being regarded as indefinitely later

It seems necessary to state here for the information of non specialists and as bearing very seriously upon all the questions involved that a very unusually severe controversy prevails upon the exegesis of the Avesta and that it centres in the question as to the value of the Asiatic translations of it. A similar debate was once held on the *Rîg veda*, but that is now silenced all agreeing that the traditional renderings are neither to be slavishly followed nor blindly ignored. Very different has been the fate of Zend philology and in one important particular the studies are poles apart for whereas the commentaries on the *Rîks* are written in Sanskrit which is clear to experts those on the Zend Avesta are written in a language upon which the lexicography is most incomplete, and the elucidation of these explanations themselves remains by far the most

difficult task now before us Professor von Spiegel has accomplished much toward breaking the rough road of science in this direction and scholars of the first order have followed his leading while all with one accord express to him their acknowledgments But Professor von Spiegel has not intended his editions and citations to represent full translations He has as a matter of course taken it for granted that those who oppose him as well as those who follow him have studied his Pahlavi editions not paying him the undesired compliment of making his commentaries the sole source of the knowledge of tradition Moreover in no branch of science does scholarship make more rapid strides than in Pahlavi several important works having appeared since Spiegel's commentaries

In the attempt to master the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta we must consider many and difficult problems

In the first place and as a matter of course they cannot be at all reasonably attempted without a full knowledge of the Gathic and Avesta texts so far as they have been as yet otherwise and approximately elucidated The two problems hang together like the arches of a circular building and they should be studied together word for word for the Pahlavi used is not fully that of the books It is often turned quite out of its course as Pahlavi by an effort to follow the more highly inflected Zend literally Then again a question of the utmost importance meets us in estimating the glosses which are of en but not always from a later hand A translation of the Pahlavi must of course first be considered as in the light of the glosses for the language is so indefinite as to many of its grammatical forms that such an indication as a gloss if it be proved to have been written by the same person who composed the text, would be decisive in determining the rendering but a final translation should be made more strictly in the light of the Gâthic so far as it affords on its side positive indications and the glosses where they do not correspond should be set apart as from a later hand Then once more, and on the contrary where the gloss is obviously right and the text erroneous the former should be appo

appropriated unencumbered by the latter¹. We must recognise the traces of former accurate scholarship whether we see them in text or gloss and from the accumulation of the correct surmises we should construct an argument for the probability of the correctness of the hints of the Pahlavi in cases of great difficulty. In rendering the Pahlavi as a necessary prelude to rendering the Avesta all possible help should of course be sought from the Asiatic translations of the Pahlavi from those of Neryosangh in Sanskrit and from the still later ones in Pārsī and Persian. Here again those who read the Pahlavi only as rendered by Neryosangh need great caution. If Neryosangh is simply read like the classical Sanskrit great errors will be committed. He needs a glossary of his own and should be read solely in the light of the Pahlavi which was chiefly his original. So of the Pārsī Persian translations they must be read with especial attention to their originals. After these original translations have been fully mastered and compared with an improved rendering of the Gāthās likewise also studied in the full light of the Veda the patient scholar will be surprised at the result. He will find that to a certain extensive degree the two sources of information coincide when reasonably estimated and, moreover that where the Pahlavi gives us an indication differing from that derived from the Vedic the surmise of the Pahlavi is the more often correct. I say reasonably estimated for not only is the Pahlavi as a less highly inflected language incapable of rendering the Avesta literally but its authors do not uniformly make the attempt to do so nor do they always follow the order of the Gāthās or Zend. Their translations generally run word for word as to their outward forms for the ancient interpreters probably regarded such a following as essential to a complete rendering but they found them-

¹ I would here state to the distinguished scholars who have done me the honour to study my work on the Gāthās that the Pahlavi translations contained in it are those made in the light of the glosses. Here and there final ones will be added in a later volume as from the Pahlavi texts sometimes considered apart from the Pahlavi glosses and in consequence often much nearer the Gāthās than those from both text and gloss.

selves compelled to resort to the most important exceptions. And lastly the rejection or total neglect of the Pahlavi translations and their successors on the ground that they contain errors is a policy which seems to me defective and to the last degree. What absurdities can Sâyana be capable of, and yet who would utter final opinions upon the *Rîg veda* without either the ability or the attempt to read Sâyana¹²

It is hardly necessary to mention that the restoration of texts goes hand in hand with translation. For how are we to interpret a passage before we know that it exists? And of what inestimable worth are the Pahlavi translations as evidence to texts! Who does not see that where the ancient scribe is most free or erroneous as to form or root his rendering often shows plainly which of two words stood before him in his manuscripts. Our oldest MS (that of Copenhagen, numbered 9) dates from the year 1323 A D and what were the dates of the ancient documents before the eyes of the Pahlavi translator who writes in it.

We must now ask whether our present Pahlavi translations are improvements upon the predecessors or the reverse. That they are improvements in some few instances is undeniable for, as we have seen, some of the glosses to them from later hands give the truth where the text is wide. But the glosses which show a later origin are for the most part inferior in richness to the texts. Here and there a talented or fortunate Parsi threw new light on the subject but the general tendency was one of deterioration that is before the revival of Parsi learning under Neryosangh (400-500 years ago). This deterioration would naturally decrease as we approach successive periods in going back to the time when MSS of the Gâthas existed according to positive evidence that is, to the time when according to the *Arââ Viraf* Alexander's servants found skins at Persepolis on which the Avesta had been traced in

Well has Geldner mentioned the epoch making *Etudes Iraniques* of Darmesteter (KZ vol xxviii p 186). It is to be hoped that these brilliant pieces will stimulate the study of the relation between the Zend and the New Persian through the Ancient Persian and the Pahlavi.

gilded letters (for it is not positively proved that the informants of Herodotus heard the Magian priests singing their theogonies from written books) At each of these periods scholarship is proved to have been competent by the results which it accomplished The first of them we must place in the sixth century when on Spiegel's estimate¹ the Zend characters were modified into their present lucid form from the Pah'lavī and distinct short vowels took the place of the unknown signs which existed previously Then all MSS which were to be found must have been collected and copied and so to speak re edited and here we must accordingly place a period when the Pahlavī translations were more valuable than those of any later date As we go further back we come upon another period when under Shapur II Adurbad Mahraspend brought the surviving portions of the Zend Avesta together (about A D 330) Still earlier the servants of Artaxerxes the Sasanian collected yet more abundant writings when Zarathustrianism was instituted as the state religion Then under the Arsacids (possibly under Vologeses the first) those most competent in the realm were directed to gather the then extant documents

While if we hold that the entire Avesta was written originally in some character different from the Pahlavī we must finally infer the existence of an early epoch when the entire Avesta was brought over in its bulk from the earlier East (or West?) Iranian character in which it was first inscribed If this character differed radically from the Pahlavī, this transliteration must be regarded as one of the most remarkable of literary events Notwithstanding all the now rapidly corrected errors the texts have been handed down with the minutest distinctions of dialect preserved² and this proves the existence of competent interpreters at a period practically contemporaneous with the composition of the later portions of the later Avesta What commentaries must then have existed not free from

¹ *Iranisches Alterthumskunde* III s 767

² See Hubschmann *KZ* bd 24 s 326

error as we see from the Zend of the Avesta but as to language and general sense how close! Even if the degree of linguistic knowledge increases only gradually or steadily in going back without any epochs from the time of Neryosangh to the inferable date of the latest Zend writings and if the character in which the Avesta was first recorded (after a lengthy life as an orally extended lore) differed only as to mode and fashion and not radically from the Pahlavi (which so far as the later Avesta is concerned is most probable) we have yet the transliteration of the Gâthas to account for which perhaps were brought over (after long oral life) from the so called Aryan character while the existence of a gradual tradition of a scholarship does not refute the fact that this scholarship must have been at times of the highest character it makes high scholarship more probable.

What translations we again remark may have existed among these early sages! And if they could once make translations fresh from the exegesis of the latest Zend writers themselves is it not practically certain considering the tenacity of life manifested by Zoroastrianism that their explanations still lurk in the commentaries which have come down to us. And if these inferences be at all correct how should we labour to discover from our present translations what these predecessors were and what scholar cannot perceive that gems of evidence as to texts and sense may yet linger in those of our present Pahlavi translations which may yet be otherwise most filled with phantastic error? And shall we not therefore conclude that their expected inaccuracies whether small or great, cannot destroy their inherent value? What then are we to think of it, when the New Persian a quasi daughter of the Pahlavi is superficially referred to for linguistic analogies when even the Armenian is also scanned while the Pahlavi is left unmastered? Is a quasi mother language of the New Persian any the less likely to afford linguistic analogies because an actual translation of the Avesta has been attempted in it and because the Avesta once stood in its characters while it may also present claims to be considered to a certain limit a daughter language to both the Gathic and Zend?

And should the acknowledged difficulty of the character continue to be a reason for avoiding all efforts to make it out ¹²

In the endeavour to divide our Avesta texts into originals and gloss we are greatly aided by the metre. Interpolated words and phrases are often obvious at a glance, and we should never suspend our efforts to discover all the traces of metre which exist in the Avesta as a necessary step to the restoration of the documents to their first form but we should avoid exaggeration and a carelessly dogmatic procedure in insisting upon reducing lines to an exact or to a supposed exact number of syllables. I regard it as unwise to suppose that the metrical lines of the Avesta or indeed of any very ancient poetical matter have been composed with every line filed into exact proportions. The ancient poets would have brought out the measures in many a place by accent and a sandhi which are no longer known to us. The Vedic Hymns may to a great extent form an exception but who would not say that where uniform evenness is at hand an effort to improve the metre has often corrupted the text. Priests or reciters of intelligence would here and there round off an awkward strophe as year after year they felt the unevenness of numbers. Metre must inevitably bring a perfecting corruption at times as a deficiency in the metre must also prove a marring corruption. Cases should be carefully discriminated. The expression of passionate feeling for instance would be likely to cause

One of the most powerful tribute ever paid to the Pahlavi translators was Haug's conversion to them. Before studying them he lost no opportunity to stigmatise their deficiencies. Later however he followed them in many an important place and sometimes with little reserve.

As writers of the opposed extreme seem honestly convinced of the radical error of each other's views it is obvious that association and interest have much to do with decisions. A scholar should put himself fully under the influence first of one school and then of the other. The necessity for well balanced studies is extremely great.

² It is only lately that the variation from eleven to twelve syllables in the lines of Trishrūp has been applied to the Gâthic metres nor has the possibility of a shifting caesura been conceded to till lately.

unevenness in lines. The language would be vigorous and idiomatic and of unusual value as a fragment of ancient phrase but the metre would have suffered

Then as to conjectured texts after texts have been improved from all available relics of ancient tradition or scholarship as afforded by the Pahlavi translations and from the evidence of metre we are at times still left with readings before us which could not have been original. The composers have indeed here and there constructed sentences which they either could not or would not make easy but as a general thing we may say that where the text as it stands, gives no satisfactory sense to us after we have exhausted the resources of previous Asiatic scholarship or direct analogy in our efforts to explain it it is in that case not the text as the composer delivered it. We are then reduced to conjecture for how are we to translate a text before we are certain that it is integral? Our first efforts should be directed to the detection of losses for a text may still be of great value when considered as a mass of broken sentences for if we are certain that such is its character we can often fill out the missing members with much probability. But whether we insert supplementary conjectures or merely bracket later interpolations we must by all means in cases of real necessity make the effort to amend the text (as also in the Veda)

Even if we fail in our attempted improvements we are often little worse off than before, for whereas it is possible or even probable that the composers wrote what we suggest it is sometimes not possible that they wrote exactly what stands in our texts. We should even suggest alternative readings where our present ones are only less probable (for the suggestion of an alternative is not the wholesale destruction of a sentence), while even when we declare their outcoming meaning totally unsatisfactory, the MSS still remain to other writers to begin on afresh. And in estimating what would be reasonable meanings, we should guard carefully against both extremes, and we should especially exercise a strong negative criticism against the recognition of

too much meaning or too subtle a meaning. Profound and subtle conceptions placed where we are obliged to place the Gâthas and other ancient portions of the Avesta are indeed precious relics as such conceptions at any age show a higher mental power but we must doubt them only so much the more and doubt if we would be scientific and conscientious till doubt becomes no longer possible. Beyond that we should turn our suspicions against our doubts themselves which is the proper course if we would exhaust the meanings of the Gathas. Unless these are a fortuitous concourse of syllables religiously profound modes of thought are manifest throughout. It is therefore strictly unscientific to force parts of them to express shallow details and it is above all deplorable to change the text itself in order to produce out of it less enlarged meanings¹. I say to force parts of them for the great mass of them confessedly defies all attempts to reduce them to the statements of simple commonplace.

They can never possess the rich colour of the *Rîks* it is therefore the more to be deplored if we fail to see their deep but awkwardly expressed, and oft repeated thought. I must express my regret that until lately when the enclitics have been more carefully considered the form of sentences in the Gathas does not seem to have been noticed writers conjecturing infinitives and simple accusatives at the ends of sentences. Both may of course fall there but when we wish to reconstruct a word we should not change it to a form which is not placed according to prevailing analogies. Infinitives and accusatives generally both in the Gathas and the *Rîg veda* avoid the end of the sentence. The accusative when it falls there is generally preceded by qualifying words often in apposition or agreement with it. Also in the conception of translations authors seem to sup

¹ Non specialists must not suppose that our texts are more apparently uncertain than (say) many portions of the Old Testament. Large portions of them are also as clear at least as the *Rîg veda* and the emendations referred to need very seldom affect the doctrines. Let the learned public, however insist on scholars making honest attempts to render the texts as they stand before their emendations, and greater harmony would result.

pose it impossible that the lines can contain anything but lengthened prosaic sentences (too often with an accusative or infinitive pushed awkwardly out to the end) To me the Gâthic sentence is often very short and so better adapted to poetic expression

It has been already implied and it has been taken for granted throughout¹ that the Avesta should be closely compared with the Veda but let it never be forgotten in the name of science that the force and meaning of analogous words in the Gâthic and the Vedic cannot be expected to be uniformly identical considering the extent of territory and the length of time by which those who spoke the two languages were separated The meanings of the Vedic words could not hold their own even in India developing into the Sanskrit and Prâkrit which differ widely how truly misguided is it therefore to attribute necessarily the same shades of meaning to the terms of the two sister tongues If even the Gâthic hymns stood in the Indian forms and had been discovered in India having also reference to Indian history no thoughtful writer would have rendered them in complete analogy with the *Rîg veda* The Gâthic usages would have been added in our dictionaries to those of the Vedic, just as the Sanskrit definitions are added

An additional word seems called for as to the results of Zarathustrian theology Besides its connection with the modern philosophy through Gnosticism which has been already noticed² a relation between it and the Jewish theology since the Captivity has long been mentioned The hagiology the demonology the temptation the parables the eschatology have all been supposed to show traces of the time when Persian power was dominant in Jerusalem, and with it Persian literature, but the discussion of such questions requires separate treatises

As to the general benefit which has resulted from Zarathustrianism in the past few reflections need to be added If the mental illumination and spiritual elevation of many millions of mankind, throughout long periods of time are of

¹ See remarks in the Preface p. xv

² See note on p. xix

any importance it would require strong proof to deny that Zarathustrianism has had an influence of very positive power in determining the gravest results. That men should be taught to look within rather than without to believe that suffering and sin do not originate from the capricious power of a Deity still called good that the good thought word and deed should be recognised as essential to all sanctity even in the presence of a superstitious ceremonial that a judgment should have been expected according to the deeds done in the body and the soul consigned to a Heaven of virtue or to a Hell of vice, its recompense being pronounced by the happy or stricken conscience these can never be regarded by serious historians as matters of little moment and if on the contrary they are allowed to be matters of great moment the Zend Avesta should be revered and studied by all who value the records of the human race

ABBREVIATIONS

Barth = Bartholomae

B V S = Vendidad Sade von Dr Hermann Brockhaus Leipzig, 1830

D = dastur

De inf = De infinitivi linguarum sanskritae bactricae persicae graecae oscae
umbricae latinae gotticae forma et usu scripsit Eugenius Wilhelmus
phil doctor 1872

G = Gamâspt

H. = Hubschmann

Inf = Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen von Dr Julius Jolly 1873

K = Kopenhagen MSS

K Z = Kuhnische Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung

M † K = Manyô † Khard Ed West 1871

Ner = Neryosangh

P = Paris MSS

Rv = R g veda

Sp = Spiegel

Trlr = translator

V S = Ein Kapitel vergleichend r Syntax von Dr Julius Jolly 1872

Wg = Westergaard

Z D M G = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

An asterisk denotes irregularities

THE GÂTHAS

THE five Gathas of Zarathustra and his immediate followers are placed here before the other parts of the Yasna on account of their higher antiquity. There existed no other Yasna for years or centuries beside them.

The more remarkable circumstances connected with them have been already discussed in the Introduction.

If it is necessary to recall any of them here the most prominent would be that they are undoubtedly the productions of a small group of influential men who are referred to in them for the most part by name. That Zarathustra everywhere else nearly or quite a demi-god is here a struggling and suffering man. He is a prophet or a divinely appointed instructor but thoroughly human and real so far as his situations become apparent.

Secondly their historical tone may be emphasised. Their doctrines and exhortations concern an actual religious movement taking place contemporaneously with their composition and that movement was exceptionally pure and most earnest. Their tone is therefore everywhere serious. Nearly all myths are dropped and likewise, as perhaps their most striking peculiarity even the old Aryan gods, who reappear in the later Yasna Vendîdâd and Yasts are save one wholly absent.

The movement in its reformatory character seems to have thrown them out, not perhaps with definite intention but because the minds of the devout enthusiasts excluded them as having inferior interest in view of the results immediately before them.

So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to

whom it was addressed as any which the world had yet seen. Nay he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the Gathas or before them save in the Semitic scriptures.

As to their speculative depth wherever theosophical speculation is put into words the evidence of their grasp and subjectivity becomes positive. As the extent of documents necessarily produces a certain impression upon the mind of an investigator it must not be forgotten that the Gâthas were in all probability many times more voluminous than the fragments which now remain to us. The historian may argue from what has survived to what once existed and the inevitable conclusion is imposing.

For additional details see the Introduction and the summaries at the head of each Gâtha and chapter.

THE GÂTHA(Â) AHUNAVAITI(Î)

This Gâtha consisting of seven chapters of the Yasna (XXVIII-XXXIV) takes its name from the similarity of its metre to that of the Ahuna vairyâ formula which also occurs before it in the Yasna. It is composed of homogeneous material but as its material is also homogeneous with that of the other Gathas it probably owes its existence as a group of sections to its metrical form. Its lines were intended to number sixteen syllables and they are put together in stanzas of three. It is all very ancient and probably nearly all original with Zarathustra himself though parts seem to be put into the mouths of his immediate associates and disciples. Whether any persons existed in the immediate circle of the sage capable of composing hymns like these unaided is of course a question but that some were able to put poetical matter together under his guidance or inspiration seems certain.

An analysis and general summary is placed before each chapter as more convenient than massing them all together. The reader is reminded that the rhythm of the original, so far as it could be reasonably conjectured, is somewhat imitated in parts of the translations.

THE GÂTHAS

YASNA XXIX

THE WAIL OF THE KINE THE CALL OF ZARATHUSTRA HIS PRAYER FOR AID

This chapter the second in the manuscripts of the Gâtha Ahuna vaiti is placed here as in a more natural order. It may be regarded as containing the terminus a quo of the divine revelation. The Soul of the Kine as representing the herds of the holy Iran in people their only means of honourable livelihood raises its voice and expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people addresses Anura and His Divine Order Asha in bitterness.

1 Recalling another and a later groan of the creation she demands wherefore and for whom she was made since afflictions encompass her and as her comfort if not her existence was threatened as much by the unsettled habits induced by constant alarms as by the actual incursions of her predatory neighbours she beseeches the Bountiful Immortals to instruct her as to the benefits of civilised agriculture and confirm her protectors in its practice as her only remedy against the evils of which she complains.

2 Ahura answers by a question to Asha the personified Righteous Order as to what guardian he had appointed in order to smite back the fury which assails her intimating that some chief ought to have been set over her originally who would have averted her miseries training her people in steady tillage and bucolic skill and repelling the destructive raids.

3 Asha answers that her sufferings were inevitable that no chief could be appointed who could prevent them since none was himself without his share of injustice and of passionate resentment. He could not answer why this was the case. The question involving the insolvable problem of the origin of evil lay at the foundation of those influences which move the stars of destiny that the religious revelation afforded by the Ratu (as in

chapter XXX) was intended to meet these problems so far as they could be answered¹ and that therefore all who were entering upon active enterprises were in the act of approaching not him Asha the subordinate archangel but Mazda himself who was the greatest of beings and alone able to answer their prayers and questions

4 Zarathustra² poetically conceived to be present here intervenes to reaffirm the homage just paid by Asha. He declares Ahura Mazda to be himself the most mindful of all the previously revealed assertions and directions uttered by himself and fulfilled in the actions of both the Demon gods of their enemies and of good or evil men. He is also said to be fully cognisant of what they will do in the future and to discriminate between what is good and evil as an infallible judge allotting to us all our destiny in future sufferings or rewards. 5 Addressing Ahura and Asha and uniting with the Kine's Soul in her supplication he questions Mazda in his doubt not in peaceful confidence as later in the impressive hymn each verse of which begins with the words 'Th's ask I Thee aright, Ahura! tell me!' but deprecating from himself, and constructively from the Kine the impending destruction which he sees will justly fall upon the wicked as visited by the discriminating vengeance acknowledged to be Ahura's attribute (see verse 4). 6 At last Ahura showing the intention of His questions answers them himself no regulating lord in full sympathy with the Righteous Order had as yet been discovered or discoverable, but He himse^{lf} will make a selection. He therefore declares himself as solemnly appointing Zarathustra to that office

And Zarathustra inspired by His Good Mind and guided by His righteousness will accomplish more than has as yet been done to rally the thrifty community and settle their virtuous polity upon its desired basis of training and defence. 7 As Zarathustra is a listener in the colloquy between the Deity the Kine's Soul and Asha the Righteous Order so the other Immortals beside Asha³ here join in as if the appointment just made had not been heard, or was incredible (see below). Mazda is indeed declared to have revealed the sacred Word of reason in harmony with the consenting Righteousness, and to have provided food for the Kine and

Something like this is implied

² If verses 4, 5, 6 were originally connected

³ Or possibly a company of the religious chiefs poetically conceived to be present

the needy consumers but who was there adequately endowed with the Good Mind who could promulgate that Mithra with its revealed directions as to sustenance of both body and mind?

8 Ahura repeats his announcement of Zarathustra as if to silence the objections

As Zarathustra alone had heard the doctrines from the voice of inspiration so he desired to declare them and had authority to do so together with a settled position of such a character as to make his statements felt

9 But an unexpected difficulty arises The King's Soul is by no means impressed by the personality of the individual selected as her guardian So far from being the demi god of the other parts of the Avesta Zarathustra's declarations are characterised by her as the voice of a pullanamous man while she on the contrary expected one truly kingly in his rank and characteristics and able to bring his desires to effect while the Bountiful Immortals (or the attending chieftains) as if they had meant their question in verse 7 to be a question uttered in mere perplexity or contempt join in with cho us asking when indeed an effective helper will be provided

10 Zarathustra undismayed by the coldness of his reception enters at once upon his office as priest and prophet praying Ahura for the people and recognising the names of the Immortals Khsha-thra Asha and Vohu Manah in their original sense asks Ahura to grant to the people in their straits a Sovereign Authority established in the Divine Order and bestowing the needed quiet and happiness for which the suffering provinces as represented by the King's Soul in her wail had expressed their desire

And as he prays he avows his own steadfast confidence in Ahura rather than in the Daevas as the prime possessor and bestower of blessings

11 Then as if eager to receive full equipment upon the spot he not only beseeches for the Righteous Order the Kingly Power of God and His Good Mind for the masses as represented by the King but asks when they are coming to him and hastening and he entreates Ahura to bestow His help at once for the great cause and to a very abundant degree upon himself and his associates (It is singular that the name of Aramaiti does not occur in this section)

Translation

(Homage to you O Sacred Gathas¹)

1 Unto you (O Ahura and Asha¹) the Soul of the Kine (our sacred herds and folk) cried aloud For whom did ye create me and by¹ whom did ye fashion me? On me comes the assault of wrath and of violent power the blow of desolation a ravenous insolence and (thievish)³ might None other pasture giver⁴ have I than you therefore do ye teach me good (tillage) for the fields (my only hope of welfare)¹

Ahura speaks

2 Upon this the Creator⁵ of the Kine (the holy

¹ *Ke ma tasha/* can only mean this here The Pahlavi translator probably read *kahmai* He has *val mûn li tukshîd (?) hômanam*

² One might think of inertia as a rendering for *remô* (if read) but the afflictions complained of seem rather to imply active violence

³ O read *tayurka* (robbery?) with the Pahlavi translation *yu* and *vi* would be written much alike in a manuscript

⁴ *Vastâ* has been found as I understand in some manuscripts The Persian manuscript of Haug has a curious *vâstirîdar* (*vastarîdar?*) in the Pahlavi text which seems to confirm *vastâ* in the sense given

⁵ As there are very many non specialists to whom it is important to weigh this present subject as closely as it may be possible and as everything here is a matter of the keenest questioning among experts I add occasionally a word for word rendering although necessarily very uncouth To you the Kine's soul cried-complaining For whom me did ye fashion? Who me made? Against me assaulting rapine violence and desolations [blow] during insolence and (thievish) might and (possibly change the text) Not for me a pasture giver than you other therefore to-me teach ye good (things) for the pasture (adj acc pl neut.)

⁶ I fear that I cannot follow Haug in his later view where he follows tradition in rather an extreme manner rendering the cutter (wounder) of the Ox Neither Spiegel nor Justi would confide to a later myth to this degree (see Y XXXI 9 and XLVI 9) This is

herds) asked of Righteousness¹ How (was) thy guardian for the Kine (appointed) by thee when as having power (over all her fate) ye made her? (In what manner did ye secure) for her together with pasture a cattle-chief who was both skilled and likewise energetic? Whom did ye select² as her (life's) master who might hurl back the fury of the wicked³?

Asha answers

o To Him the (Divine Righteousness) answered with⁴ his sanctity (Great was our perplexity) a chieftain who was capable of smiting back (their fury) and who was himself without hate (was not to be obtained by us), among such things as these those things are not to be known (by beings such as we) which are the influences which approach⁵ (and move) the lofty fires (revealing the favour and the will of God⁶)

Of beings He is the mightiest to whom those⁷

mentioned however not as complaining of an error but solely to guard the reader against the mistake of an eminent authority (See also Roth Z D M G Bd 25 s 9)

¹ Observe the personification of righteousness

² Or what salvation lord, governed by dātâ from the preceding line so also the Pahlavi translator mûn avo pavan nadukîh khudâi Ustâ occurs only here as a verbal form Supply angha/in b

³ The Pahlavi aêshmo anâêr zanirno

⁴ Or read ashem The Pahlavi has ashavahisto pasukhvo guft I am not at all inclined to accept vocatives for nominatives in the Gathas

⁵ Saigân compare Verethragan The Pahlavi indicates this by tanû sardarih

⁶ Possibly by which he approaches

⁷ The Pahlavi rôshano î rasto

⁸ Cp Y XXX 1 ya raočbis daresata urvaza

⁹ The Pahlavi indicates a third person and keredushâ is far the most simply explained as a nom pl Recall mâ mashâ and man(?) mathâ Otherwise to whom I will come with activity and invoking

who have performed their actions approach with invocations (He has no need to ask¹)

Zarathustra intervenes¹

4 The Great Creator² (is himself) most mindful of the uttered indications which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto in the deeds of³ demon gods⁴ and (good or evil) men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them⁵ hereafter He Ahura is the discerning arbiter, so shall it be to us⁶ as He shall will⁷!

5 Therefore it is that we both my soul⁸ and (the soul) of the mother⁹ Kine, (are) making our supplica

¹ A verse or verses may here have fallen out

² I cannot persuade myself to accept the nearly universally accepted comparison of Mazda and medhā. See note on p 104

³ Or He has done by Daēvas? If thus absolute and not qualified sovereignty would be indicated See the last line

⁴ Observe that while by Daēva worshippers would be an admirable rendering for Daēvās because more commonplace and therefore safer it is here impossible on account of mashyaisā. We are closely confined to the acceptance of a large idea Ahura was mindful of what transpired in the deeds of Daēva god and not in those of Daēva worshippers alone The inst must be modified

⁵ As varshaitē is elsewhere used in an active sense it is possible but not probable that a special predestination may be indicated He shall do by means of Daēvas and men

⁶ To us men not to us Ameshōspends of course!

⁷ Verbatim Mazda the words most mindful which for have been fulfilled before by means of (the actions of) Daēvas-and men and what and (shall) be-done after He the discriminating lord so to-us shall it be as He shall choose

⁸ This seems to prove positively that a human being speaks here and in the previous verse the soul of Righteousness is of course impossible

⁹ Some have referred the word to the root zan obscurely present in it otherwise a drivable cow one mature and fit for use The term used in the Vendidad in a common meaning as merely

tions for the two worlds to Ahura and with hands stretched out in entreaty when (we pray to the Great Creator¹ with questions in our doubt², (and He will answer)

Not for the righteous liver, not for the thrifty (tiller of the earth) shall there be destruction³ to gether with the wicked⁴

Ahura

6 Upon this the Lord, the Great Creator, He who understands the mysterious grace⁴ by His insight⁵ spake thus Not in this manner⁶ is a spiritual master found for us, nor a chieftain moved by Righteousness and appointed (in its spirit) therefore Thee⁷ have I named⁸ (as such a head) to the diligent tiller of the ground⁹!

designating a cow at a certain age may be the familiar use of an adjective here applied in the ancient Gatha in a sacred sense

¹ This passage is one of the strongest for the comparison of Mazdā and mednā The sense asking wisdom in our doubt is admirable I cannot however accept the comparison

² Pavan gūmanīkīh hampūrsānī root di

³ The Pahlavi awasīnīsnīh* but in other connections fragyāitis might well mean continued life life long endured with the wicked

⁴ The Pahlavi has vishūpīrno which here affords a better meaning see however Y XLVIII 9 We might read as alternative here knowing the calamity to be averted

⁵ Uncertain The Pahlavi however indicates discernment

⁶ One is strongly tempted to read aēvô not a single chief but the ancient writing read by the Pahlavi translator had aēvâ ahû

⁷ This indicates that Zarathustra had been the speaker in the previous verses

⁸ Appointed

⁹ Verbatim Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda knowing the wonderful (thing) through insight (?) not thus a master found nor a ruler righteous-order from even from, therefore for thee to the thrifty and to the husbandman and (I) as-a creator I have made

The Ameshospends

7 Mazda has created the inspired Word of reason which is a Māthra of fatness (for the offering) the (Divine) Righteousness consenting with Him in his deed Food he has prepared for the Kine and for the eaters He the one bountiful with his (saving) doctrine but whom hast Thou endowed with the Good Mind who may give forth those (doctrines) by word of mouth to mortals ³?

Ahura

8 This man is found for me here who alone ⁴ has

¹ Or a company of the saints conceived to be present

² So some writers accepting an irregular reading *hvarushaēibyō* after the indication of the Pahlavi translation Otherwise compare *rush* (?) *uru*=*ru* and render to the estranged We have often to stretch the meaning more than this Converting instructions we elsewhere suggested for all mankind

³ The translation of Neryosangh is added here not merely because it is of interest but because it is together with the Pahlavi translation of the last importance in forming correct conclusions It may be rendered as follows and the reader may regard it as a specimen but by no means a particularly favourable one At the words *âzûtois* and *maretaēbyō* different texts were before him and the Pahlavi translator as well Those words are elsewhere rendered by the latter *karpîh* and *anwûtaân* This greatest magnitude (sic) of the Māthra the Lord produced together with righteousness as his fellow worker [] The Great Wise One discloses the herds to the eaters and he discloses also the great matter to the well taught scholars Who is thine who endowed with the best mind gives the two things with the mouth to those who are prosecuting studies (sic)? To expect an ancient rendering to be closer would be unreasonable The errors (as to root) are not errors but the certain signs of differing MSS This constantly occurs and it is hardly necessary to add that sometimes from such supposed mistakes we get the only possible means of recovering the original text

⁴ Repeating the announcement in verse 6 The *aēva* in 6 would incline one to read *aēvâ* (*je ne aēva*) but the manuscript before the Pahlavi translator read *aēvo*=*khaduk* It is quite out of the question to suppose his *aētuno* and *khadûk* to be accidental A sharp distinction is made

hearkened to our enunciations Zarathustra Spitama !
Our mighty and completed acts of grace he desires
to enource for us for (Me) the Great Creator and for
Righteousness wherefore I will give him the good
abode¹ (and authoritative place) of such an one as
speaks² !

The Gæus Urvan

9 Upon this the Soul of the Kine lamented
(Woe is unto me) since (I have obtained for myself)
in my wounding a lord who is powerless to effect (his)
wish the (mere) voice of a feeble and pusillanimous
man whereas I desire one who is lord over his
will (and able as one of royal state to bring what he
desires to effect³)

The Ameshôspends⁴

((Aye,) when shall he ever appear who may bring
to her⁴ help strong handed ?)

So the Pahlavi translator giving the only critical etymology in
his hudemûnîh the gloss aside

² The Pahlavi text correct-d by the Persian MS may be ren-
dered as follows This gift I obtained [] For this one is he
who was listening to that which is our teaching Zartusht the Spitâ
mân For us, Auharmazd and for Aharayih is his desire [that is
that perfectly performed duty and good works are desired by him]
He recites also a remedy making (iree or erroneous) [that is he
declares a remedy making against the Drûg who is in the world]
on account of which saying for his word of piety which he utters
they give him a good abode [] (The glosses are often from a
later hand and erroneous Sometimes however they contain the
truth while the text is futile I drop them in the present citation
when they are of no importance)

³ Observe that Zarathustra like other prophets met at times little
honour from his fellow countrymen who are here well represented
by the voice of the Kine's Soul (See Y XLVI 1)

⁴ Or could not hôi be taken in a reflexive sense and referred
to the first person like the possessive s/æ see the connection

Verbatim The eupon and the Kine's Soul wêp (I who

Zarathustra¹

10 Do ye, O Ahura and thou, O Righteousness¹ grant gladness unto these (our disciples) and the sovereign Kingdom (of the Deity) such as (is established) in (His) Good Mind by which one bestows upon them the peaceful amenities of home and quiet happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer²) for of these O Great Creator¹ I ever thought Thee first possessor³!

11 And when shall the (Divine) Righteousness the Good Mind (of the Lord, and His) Sovereign Power (come) hastening⁴ to me (to give me strength for my task and mission) O Great Creator the Living Lord! (For without his I cannot advance

(lament) one not able to effect his wish in wounding as a matter (or I established?) [] whom as against I wish one wish controlling and effecting as a sovereign. When ever he may (shall) be who to her (possibly to me myself?) shall give effected by the hand help

¹ Zarathustra, having accepted his call to be the Ratu or his substitute at once interposes with a prayer for his suffering charge

² See verse 1 to which reference is continually made as the chief expression of the sufferings to be remedied

³ The Pahlavi without glosses may be rendered as follows Give ye assistance to these, O Aûharmazd Ashavahist and Khshatraver! So also Vohûman who gives him a pleasing habitation and also joy I also think that the first gain and obtaining of this is from thee (With the gloss slightly different, but valman should be rendered according to ahjâ)

The text literally is as follows (Do) ye to these O Ahura! happiness (? possibly strength see the Pahlavi) grant O Asha! Khshathra and (=the Kingdom) such (kingdom as) by Vohu Manah by which amenities peaceful joy and (one) may give-or establish I-even of this O Mazda! Thee I thought foremost possessor

So the Pahlavi translation indicates compare gimâ and frâman (?) mathâ otherwise mâmashâ = I hasten (to fulfil my mission)

or undertake my toil) Do ye now therefore assign unto us your aid and in abundance¹ for our great cause May we be (partakers) of the bountiful grace of these your equals (your counsellors and servants)²

¹ The Pahlavi has *kabed* For the fundamental idea compare *prksh* + suffix

² The Ameshospends just mentioned together with whom Ahura governs and blesses His people Ahmâ (so conjecturing with Barth) is also quite sufficiently indicated by the lanman of the Pahlavi Whether an instrumental *ahma* can be accepted is doubtful The form should be altered

If *ahmâ* stands istem must be understood or the instrumental taken in a possessive sense

Ahmâ has no authority from MSS but is better than *anghâmâ* as being nearer the MSS

³ As an impartial specimen I render Ner thus Whence will that gift come to me (the gift which is) Asavahista Gvahmana and Saharevara [that is sanctity the highest (best) mind and the sovereignty where is the place of the reward which will thus come to me?] (Here the translation falls into confusion from an error which is most interesting and instructive because it is corrected by Ner in an alternative rendering in the gloss As has been seldom noticed his original was the Pahlavi word *pađadahisnîñêđ* rather than the Gâthic *pati zanata* This Pahlavi form he could not at first believe to be a second plural Indeed the Pahlavi glossist may have taken it as a third sg Neryosangh therefore abortively renders word for word as follows You O Great Wise One! it offers or presents more excellently through the greatest exaltation (the holy cause) But he recovers himself in the gloss by reading the Pahlavi *pâđadahisno vâdunyen* as an imperative [Provide a reward through that spotless exaltation (the irreproachable cause)] continuing Here O Lord! is the gift (which is) ours and (which comes) to us from Thee)

YASNA XXVIII

PRAYERS CHIEFLY FOR GRACE AND FOR THE
WORDS OF REVELATION

2 Zarathustra having entered upon the duties of his office (XXIX 11) composes a liturgy for the use of some of his more eminent colleagues possibly but not at all probably for the original mover in the entire religious effort (see the expressions to Zarathustra and to us to Vistaspâ and to me to Frashaostra and to me) This reciter whoever he may have been intended to be is represented as standing in the appropriate place as a priest with hands stretched toward Ahura, or His Fire and praying for the possession of spiritual graces from an unselfish motive and in order that he might appease the grief of the King's Soul for whose relief Zarathustra had just been appointed (see XXIX 1 6 8)

3 He approaches Ahura Mazda spiritually inspired by the Good Mind as he declares and asking for attainments and boons for both the bodily and spiritual lives derived from Righteousness whereby that personified Righteousness might establish the elect in a beatified state

4 The personality of the Ameshôspends comes again strongly forward as it does so often in worship in addresses in which Righteousness (Asha) the Good Mind (Vohu Manah) Khshathra (the active Power of the Divine Sovereignty) and Âramaiti (practical piety in the souls of believers) are besought to come as the Vedic Gods so often are to the appeals of the supplicant and to his help in the act of worship itself, which is recognised to be the one efficient means for furthering the cause of redemption which is ever held in view

5 As one who offered his soul to heaven and would know by actual experience the blessed rewards bestowed by the holy ceremonial and moral actions prescribed by Ahura Mazda the reciter declares that he will teach on in the effort to propagate the holy Religious Order and possessed by the one desire for its increase while power shall last

6 With a piety as fervent as it is profound and speaking with great earnestness he asks Righteousness, as a person when he shall see him becoming fully acquainted with the Good Mind of God, the way which leads to Him and above all with Obedience But although he addresses these lofty abstractions as persons, it is utterly

out of the question to suppose that he did not speak in the deepest meaning of the words as expressing states of mind and qualities of character. O thou Divine Righteous Order! (Thus he seems to have meant) O thou divine Righteous Order! when shall I see Thee as if present in my own soul and in those of the people whom Ahura has committed to my charge? When shall I know the Divine Benevolence as made one with the disposition of my congregation? When shall I possess by knowledge that only way to our most bountiful Ahura which is not a mythical angel Sraosha only but that angel interpreted Obedience to Ahura (observe the dative). One cannot well exaggerate the religious depth or subjectivity. Then with a bathos which shows how then is ever superstition could hold its own side by side with the truest piety he exclaims (if the third line was really so composed by him as it has come down to us) By such a prayer as a Mazda spell we can with the greatest vigour repel the unclean beasts and creatures which defile our sanctity or endanger our lives.

7 Alluding immediately to this revelation he beseeches Ahura once more to come with His Good Mind and to grant not booty nor even wealth but Asha gifts and (as a bestower of righteousness) long life and powerful spiritual grace to the leading agent Zarathustra (in all probability the composer of the section) and to himself the officiating priest with his helpers in order that not with carnal weapons but by his lofty and holy words they all combined may overcome the torments of the ravagers who had made havoc of the settlements and who were still liable to overwhelm the faithful with their raids and rapine (see XLIV 20).

8 With an intentional and interesting alliteration he prays to Asha for an ashî that is a blessing even the strenuously attained to gifts of the great Benevolence. Âramantî likewise becomes the object of his petition together with Ahura and this time for the benefit of Vîstaspa the monarch and for himself that they might hear the gracious Mithras which is indeed the burden of the entire piece.

9 Once more he affords an early (or the earliest (?)) instance of the rhetorical trick and fills one line with three vahîstas praying Ahura as being of one mind with Asha (here for the first time in the Avesta called the best) to grant the same blessing and this time again with an intentional change to himself and to Frashaostra and not for this world but for all the duration of the Good Mind using the expression in its concrete sense as heaven for heaven to him consisted in an inward state (So also elsewhere in the Avesta

even where the palate and the olfactory nerve are the media of felicity or of torture there also conciliating language on the one side or vile speech pointed with finest irony on the other is equally prominent. It is the mind which chiefly enjoys or suffers.)

10 Deeply sensible of the spiritual benefits for which he is asking he seems touched with gratitude. Accordingly he adds one more petition which is that he and his coadjutors the three just mentioned may never anger the indulgent mercy which had granted them their request and that they may persevere as they have begun in the strenuous service of Ahura Asha and Vohu Manah. For they are as he declares easy to be entreated and beings who desire to bestow spiritual blessings upon mortals rather than to exercise merely capricious favour or cruelty and who also possess the power to bring their benevolence to effect.

11 As if unwilling to trust his own perception as to his real spiritual needs he prays Ahura to fill up his desire not with what he the reciter may in particular request but with what He Ahura knows to be the gifts of Righteousness and the divine Benevolence. And these gifts are again mainly the holy revelation for he knows, so he earnestly declares the words of those mighty three to be never void and to be a sustenance able indeed to fill up his wishes giving him more than he has of himself either the intelligence or the grace to ask.

12 Having added in verse after verse some particular to heighten the fervour of his request he sums up all in a final expression as remarkable for its earnestness as for its depth and begs Ahura as one set for ever for the defence of the Righteous Order and the Good Mind (whose hallowed influences he accurately foresaw were destined to endure for ages) to tell him with His very voice of spirit in order that he may declare them to the waiting masses the laws which pervade the moral universe, and according to which it arose. For according to these holy principles and so alone could he promulgate a system which might reclaim society from its imperfections and the Iranian saint from his sufferings. Ahura who he it remarked is alone addressed in this culminating verse hears and answers by a revelation of these eternal principles and this answer is contained in chapter XXX. By a thorough comprehension of that most important document I hold that we may see how it met its purpose as indicated by the capacities and needs of those to whom it was addressed, and how by discriminating truth from falsehood it helped on the defence of Asha and the founding of the true Benevolence.

Translation

1 (A strengthening blessing¹ is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the righteous Zarathustra May the Bountiful Immortals² accept and help on³ the chants Homage to you O sacred Gâthas⁴!)

2 With venerating (desire) for this (gift) of gracious help O Mazda⁵ and stretching forth my hands (to Thee) I pray for the first (blessing) of (Thy) bountiful Spirit (that is I beseech of Thee that my) actions

¹ Yânim cannot well mean revealed except by the most far fetched conception The Indian yâna as in devayâna should give the fundamental idea easily reconcilable as it is with the ancient rendering of the Pahlavi translator

² Notice that the Ameshôspends are mentioned in this early heading In the Gâthas themselves the name Bountiful Immortals does not occur

³ Possibly 'take up and continue on the Gâthas Laterally seize forth

⁴ It is hardly necessary to say that this is no part of the Gâthas It is however in the Gâthic dialect and as it needs not or perhaps cannot, be considered an intentional imitation, it must be very old

⁵ Vocative with the Vendidad Sâdah otherwise the accumulation of genitives would be suspicious Ahura is however beyond any question elsewhere spoken of as the most bounteous Spirit The usage is like that of the Semitic scriptures the Holy Spirit is both God and 'of God As to the rendering bounteous I fear that holiest (so many) is too bold Ashavan occurs side by side with spenta as applied to Ahura and ashavan cannot mean righteous there but must mean holy The Pahlavi renders etymologically afzûnîk Comp svânta The sole etymological bases for the meaning holy are presented by the Lithuanian and Ecclesiastical Slavonic but as Justi has well remarked in the conceptions of the Avesta that which increases the kingdom of Ahura is equivalent to what is holy Bountiful must therefore be understood in a particular sense only to be rendered by the words, gracious sacred and august.

(toward) all (may be performed) in (the Divine) Righteousness and with this I implore from Thee the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind, in order that I may propitiate the Soul of the Kine¹ (our herds and folk which cries so bitterly to Thee)

3 And therefore, O Great Creator the Living Lord¹ (inspired) by Thy Benevolent Mind I approach You² (and beseech of Thee³) to grant me (as a bountiful gift) for both the worlds the corporeal and (for that) of mind those attainments which are to be derived from the (Divine) Righteousness and by means of which (that personified Righteousness⁴ within us) may introduce those who are its recipients into beatitude and glory⁵!

4 O (thou Divine) Righteousness, and thou Be-

¹ See Y XXIX 1

² The plural of 'majesty, or the literal plural referring to the Bountiful Immortals as together

³ Plural and singular interchange throughout

⁴ Possibly one may introduce

⁵ See Y L 5 *Hvathrâ* and its allied forms are so often associated with *raoḥah* and the like that I do not hesitate to accept an Iranian *hvan*=to shine (with Justi) As there is an Indian *sva* which means to roar and another 'to shine and again a *svan*=to sound so in Iranian there is a *hvan*=to sound and another=to shine as in *asmanem hvanvantem* The comfortable stone heaven is difficult Comfortable or even delectable mountains (so we should have to say elsewhere) are not very likely to have been recognised or appreciated in the Avesta Glorious beatitude is a better rendering here If *hvatrâ* always means comfort how comes it that *hwarenô* is said to be *hvatravat*? Comfortable glory is hardly probable Compare also the ancient *subha*. When it is the fashion to accept a separate Iranian root at every difficulty small and great, I see no reason for stopping here where the pressure is considerable The Pahlavi also may be read to favour my view (Comp *hveng*=*hvan*.)

nevolent Mind (of Deity)¹ I will worship you, and Ahura Mazda the first², for all of whom the Pious ready mind (within us) is³ causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance (And while I thus utter my supplications to You) come Ye to my calls to help³!

5 (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications I) who am delivering up (my)⁴ mind and soul to that (heavenly) Mount (whither all the redeemed at last must pass⁵) knowing (full well) the holy characteristics and rewards⁶ of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by Ahura Mazda (And)

¹ Or having no first (Roth reading *apourvim*)

² I am ve y far from a positive rejection of the forms suggested by the Pahlavi translator although he should never be pressed on such a point being often free. As alternative read may Piety who bestows increase (*feri* participle) come to my calls to give grace

³ The Pahlavi translator unable to credit *ye as*=I who (so also modern authority sometimes with regard to other occurrences of *ye* in this chapter) renders as follows. When I shall be your own (thus for worship and possibly deceived by the form of the words *ufyâni* and *našman* being nearly alike in the Pahlavi character) O Ashavanist and Vohûman! the first [] Aûharmazd's also [his own I shall be] through whose unweakened acquisition his rule over them exists [] and [hers also I shall be] Spendar mac's the giver of increase. She comes to me with joy when I invoke her [when I shall call upon you come ye on toward me with joy] (A plain and noticeable instance of an alternative rendering in the gloss. The verb was first thought of as a 3rd sing middle subjunctive afterwards as an imperative 2nd plural)

⁴ *Meñ* = *m* + the nasal vowel and may represent *man*, or I think also *mām* adverbially for *mênâ*, or *mân* = *demânê*

⁵ Mount Alborg where the *Kinva* Bridge extends so also important authority but we might read *mengarê*=*mângarê* (*Garôzman*)

⁶ *Ashu* a blessing given in reward, so elsewhere

so long as I am able and may have the power so long will I teach¹ (Your people concerning these holy deeds to be done by them with faith toward God and) in the desire (for the coming) of the (Divine) Righteousness (within their souls)²

6 And thou Righteousness¹ when shall I see³ thee knowing the Good Mind (of God) and (above all the personified) Obedience⁴ (of our lives which constitutes) the way⁵ to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda (Asking this I thus beseech thee, for) with this holy word of supplication we most hold off⁶ with tongue the flesh devouring fiends, (the very sign and power of all spiritual foulness)⁷!

¹ I think it is better to hold by the parallel passage and the sense of teach here. The Pahlavi has an irregular form which probably means I teach but might be intended for I am taught.

After the words so long as I have the power 'I will teach' is rather more natural than I will learn. Haug's rendering of this word has never been accepted. Those most opposed to tradition follow it here. Perhaps I will teach to desire R.

² The Pahlavi translation corrected by MSS may be rendered thus. He who gives up his soul within Garôzman does so by the aid of Vohûman [] and is also intelligent concerning the veneration which belongs to the doers of good works [] in that which is Aûharmazd's [religion] as long as I am a suppliant and have the power so long do I inculcate the desire of Righteousness [which is duty and good works]

³ Kadâ mrîškām suranâ abhi khyam (Rv VII 86 2)

⁴ Obedience throughout the Avesta and Parsi literature guides the soul to heaven

⁵ Or knowing the throne of Ahura (so the Pahlavi most scholars following) but the construction would be awkward. Finding the way occurs in the Rîks, and gâtu need not always mean place in the Gâthic because it has that sense most frequently in the Zend

⁶ Possibly we may teach the foul polluted men. Or confess the greatest One with Khrafstra (slaying) tongue. Perhaps the text is to be amended yet see XXXIV 5 9

⁷ The Pahlavi translation may be rendered thus. O Asha vahist! when do (shall) I see thee? I know this one by means

7 And do Thou O Lord the Great Creator! come to me with Thy Good Mind and do Thou who bestowest gifts through Thy Righteousness bestow alike long lasting life on us And (that this life may be spent aright do) Thou by means of Thy lofty words (bestow) the (needed) powerful spiritual help upon Zarathustra and upon us¹ whereby we may overcome² the torments of the tormentor

8 (And) do thou O (Divine) Righteousness bestow (upon me) that sacred blessing which is constituted by the attainments of the Good Mind (within my soul)³ and do thou also O Piety! grant unto

of a good mind's instruction [that is I see thee in that time when every man is intelligent because he is pious but when shall it be?] And the place of Auha Mazda when do (shall) I see it I who am a suppliant for a benefit? That place is known through Srosh [] that greatest of Mathras is to be taught given forth with tongue to him whose understanding is confused

¹ It certainly involves a question how the words to Zarathustra and to us can be compatible with Zarathustra's authorship Vis-taspa and Frashaostra (verses 8-9) are equally excluded Who is then the individual who thus speaks to himself with others? And is this verse an interpolation and with it 8 and 9? This last seems to me a very feeble suggestion Was this piece together with the rest (for they all are connected) the work of some unnamed man of influence the true author of Zarathustrism? I think that there is also little gained by this supposition There is no particular reason why Zarathustra's name should have come down to us as the chief figure while that of the prime mover failed to reach us I should say that the piece was composed by Zarathustra and put into the mouth of a leading priest or that it was composed with many others under his inspiration Or can there have been a school or family of Zarathustrians religious poets similar to the Vedic seers? (See chap. LIII 2 Zarathustris Spitāmō)

² This metaphor of overcoming an enemy strengthens the probability of my view of vâvarôimaidi (vâurôimaidi)

³ The Good Mind is now as we should say the Spirit of God in the mind of God and again His Spirit in the human soul

Vistaspa and to me our wish (yea) may st Thou grant (us) O Mazda ruler (as Thou art! that grace) whereby we may hear (with understanding) Thy benignant words

9 That best (of gifts therefore) do I beseech (of Thee) O Thou best (of beings) Ahura! who art one in will with (Thy Divine) Righteousness (within us likewise) the best³ (of spirits) desiring it (as I now do) for the (heroic) man Frashaostra and for me⁴, upon whom also may st Thou bestow it (not for time alone) but for all the ages of Thy Good Mind (that reign of Thy Benevolence which shall be to us as Heaven⁵)!

¹ The Pahlavi correctly renders padakhshâ

² Probably originally heard inspired words. Compare Manyus haka Thwa zungha verse 12. So often. Oral communications are figuratively alluded to everywhere. No literal articulation or sound (!) is of course intended. (O sravayaêmâ=proclium)

Neryosargh may be rendered as follows. Grant O Sarcity! this devotion which (results) from the priority (an er or from misreading the characters of the Pahlavi chiefly his original) of the Good Mind [that is make me so religious that prosperity may result to me from my good conduct]. Grant thou to the perfect mind [in or to the earth (so the Parsis understood Âramaiti)] the wish that proceeds from Gustâsp. and from my people []. Grant praises O great wise One! kings who may be announcers of your word, and bestowers of arrangements (for the service), [that is who may teach thy word and render it progressive]

³ The earliest occurrence of Asha V hista. The Pahlavi. Since the best thing that Thou hast [Thy Religion] is better than all other things the best through Righteousness

⁴ See verses 7 and 8

⁵ In the millennial (sic) renovation as well as in heaven. See chap XXX 4 where Vahista Manah is equivalent to heaven. The Pahlavi gloss has Atah Frashôstar va havistân î Frashôstar vad tanu î pasino hamai nadukih padas vadûn that is for Frashôstar and the disciples of Frashôstar for ever until the final body provide a benefit thereby

10 And (impressed and moved) by these gifts or strengthening grace¹ (which Thou mayst give in answer to these prayers) may we never anger You, O Ahura Mazda! (nor Thy) Righteousness (within us) nor yet Thy Kindly Mind (toward us) since we have most earnestly made effort (helping to advance Your cause) in the (chanted)² offering of Your praisers for most easy to be invoked (are Ye) (Yours are verily both) the desire for (spiritual) blessings (for us) and the (Divine) Possession (of their power)³

11 And therefore do Thou O Lord the Great Creator! fill up and satisfy (my⁴) desire with these attainments (of the grace) of Thy Good Mind which Thou dost know to be derived from Righteousness, (and) which (are verily) sublime⁵ for I have known⁶

¹ Possibly may we not anger you with our prayers for these blessings Kīm me havyām āhrimāno gusheta

² That dasemê may now better be referred to a similar root with dasvare I regard the more probable because the Pahlavi also freely renders as if it so understood Its author knew the meaning of dāsema=dasama. One is reminded of course of the dāsa gva

³ The Pahlavi with its peculiar view of arâis (not to be rejected too confidently see note at another occurrence of it) is interesting (as corrected by the Persian MS) Or account of a not coming to you O Aûharmazd! This I would not do [] Ashavahist also I will not pain for the sake of a blessing [that is I do not desire a single blessing which appears displeasing to Ashavahist (this turn of the sense is followed by some who have hitherto opposed tradition but I cannot follow it although I value every hint of the ancient writers) Also Vohuman the excellent [I do not harass him]

⁴ Or to those whom thou seest as creatures (?) of V fill up the desire with attainments

⁵ Possibly the righteous erethweng cp rāšāvanas (?) Pahl trans ī fiaruno

⁶ Possibly I obtain

Thine instructions to be never void of their effect (in the struggles) for our (daily) food², and therefore worthy objects of desire³

12 (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers I) who by these (great gifts of grace) will⁴ protect (Thy) Divine Righteousness and (Thy) Good Mind (within us) for ever And do Thou therefore O Ahura Mazda¹ teach me from Thyself yea from Thine own mouth of spirit, that I may declare it forth to (these Thy waiting people) by what (powers and according to what laws⁵) the primeval world arose⁶!

¹ Ner has analaso(*ah*) for astûnâ more correctly than the Pahlavi astûzak

² Or well reaching their aim but the Pahlavi translator gives his evidence for the meaning food = khurisnô Recall the constant prayers for nourishment in the *Riks* And as favouring the ancient translation see XXIX 7 where food for the eaters is declared to be the gift of God who is at the same time bounteous with his doctrine

³ Neryosangh *Evam ye dharmasya vettârah* uttamasyaka dâter manasaḥ [] ekahelayâ* Mahâgnânin Svamin' tebhyaḥ* pûrnam parîkinoḥ* kâman [kila [] subham tebhyaḥ kura] Fvanka igisneḥ* analaso labhatam khadyani vastramka vadanena*

⁴ One is tempted to read *nipaunghē* as an infinitive but the Pahlavi translation anticipates us all with its more critical *bara netrunam*

⁵ This question is answered in Y XXX

⁶ Ner improving upon the Pahlavi has as follows *Yadi sunirîk shanataiyâ dharmam pâlayami manaska* uttamam sadâpravritaye [kila ket satyasya sadvyâpârasyaka rakshâm karomi] Tvam tat* Mahâgnânin Svâmin' prakrîsham me sîkshapaya* [] vâhî Adrisya Tvatto mukhena [sphurâya] antar bhuvane pûrvam babhûva [tam srîsham me brûhi]*

A translation truly remarkable considering the circumstances under which it was made

YASNA XXX

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM

1 Accustomed to instruct the masses who throng him on public occasions seeking light the composer constructs this hymn for similar opportunities. He may be regarded as continuing the thoughts in the close of Y XXVIII where he besought Ahura to inform him concerning the origin of the world. He says that he will declare the counsels of God by which as we see he means the great doctrines concerning the origin of good and evil. With these he will declare also the praises the laudatory portions of the Māthra and the sacrifices. And he prays that propitious results may be discerned in the heavenly bodies.

2 He further introduces what he has to say by telling the throngs before him that a decisive moment is upon them. They are to choose their religion and not by acclamation with the foolish decision of a mob but man by man each individually for himself. They should therefore arouse themselves and hear with all attention and gaze at the holy Fire with a good and receptive disposition of mind.

3 He then delivers the earliest statement of dualism which has come down to us. There were two original spirits and they are called so it well noted not two persons or at least not only two persons but a better thing or principle and a worse one. (The qualifying words are all in the neuter¹)

At the next sentence they are personified as a pair each independent in his thoughts declarations and actions. Such is the short Theodicy followed at once by an admonition to those before him to choose the better.

4 These two spirits came together as by natural combination to make the opposing phenomena of life and its absence of Heaven and of Hell.

And Hell is described not as a scene of cruelty inflicted on the innocent and the ignorant but as the worst life and Heaven as equally remote from a superstitious paradise, that is as the best mental state.

¹ It is also noticeable that the name Angra Mainyu does not occur in this section.

This is the proper Zarathustrian creation. It is undeniably abstract, very and just in proportion as it lacks colour and myth are its depths visible. The account of it is also very limited. But it must never be forgotten that its existence is the probable proof that very much more of the kind existed beside it. Instead of here being one hymn sung like this Y XXX there were probably many. The two original forces or beings, although separate, clearly come together, but they do not lose their distinction. Their difference remains as clear as their union. 5 They do not blend unrecognisably, for having created the two principles they choose each his own particular realm. Ahura chooses the righteous order of religion, and with it the pious of all ages. The evil spirit chooses the wicked.

The point and meaning of the entire doctrine is that a good God cannot be responsible for permanent evil; that imperfection and suffering are original and inherent in the nature of things and permanently so. The swallowing up of sin and sorrow in ultimate happiness belongs to a later period. It is not Gathic Zarathustrianism. Evil was the work of an independent being.

The great thinker saw his point, and it was that the Deity Himself could not prevent the evolution of base and revolting moral qualities with their consequent miseries in both victim and aggressor. An evil God was therefore their author.

6 But the blood feuds of War, not to speak of the theological animosity, were too much for his philosophy. The sage could not regard all men and their circumstances with broad and equitable impartiality.

The hated Daêva worshippers, who were doubtless equally conscientious with the Zarathustrians, are said to have failed of correct discernment.

As they were deliberating, so he recalls the Worst Mind, a very real although abstract Satan, came upon them to induce them to choose him and his evil realm. They acceded, becoming furious in their intention to injure human life. This may be regarded as a dramatic but at the same time in a moral sense a philosophical statement of a temptation and fall. (For a later one with more colour and less truth, see the temptation proper of Zarathustra himself¹, recalling as it does so vividly the temptation in the Gospels.)

7 If we can accept the words *ahmaikâ* to mean merely upon

¹ Comp. Vd XIX 1-10. Consider how much time would be required for the name of Zarathustra to become so involved in myth.

this we may hold that the statements proceed without a break. Even a gap of lost verses does not interrupt the sense. The clothing of souls with bodies seems indicated. If so the doctrine of the Fravashis otherwise foreign to the Gâthas may have its origin by inference here and directly in verse 4. After the creation and first activity of the souls of the Archangels on the one hand and of the Daêvas on the other together with their respective human adherents the one choosing good and the other evil the remaining Ameshôspends unite with Aramaiti in bestowing a body upon the newly created soul (So we must conclude from the language). And the prophet breaks in with the prayer that in the future and possibly at the Frashakarê, the completion of progress these created souls might possess such advantages as they had when Ahura came at first with his acts of creation that is that they might be restored again to a state of sinless happiness provided with bodies by Aramaiti as at the first. (See Yast XIX 89)

8 But as he implies and perhaps expresses in a lost verse vengeance shall come upon the wretched beings who choose the Evil Mind as their master. And it shall come, not in the abstract merely by any means but as executed by a numerous if not once predominant party the offspring of the Evil Mind. And when this shall have been completed (and XXXI 18 shows us that the weapons to be used to bring it about were not to be those of verbal argument alone) then, as he declares with enthusiasm to God shall be the Kingdom a Kingdom established in the Divine Benevolence which will pervade its organic life and which will likewise as the personified Immortal utter encouragements and commands to its loyal citizens. And these citizens will then not only defeat the Lie-demon who is the life of the Daeva party but they will deliver her up as a captive to the great Genius of Truth the personified Righteousness. 9 And as he ardently hoped for the coming of the Kingdom into the hands of Ahura, he as ardently beseeches that he and his coadjutors the princes already named may be honoured as the immediate agents in bringing on this 'millennial completion' nay he even prays that they may be as Ahuras¹ in merciful services declaring that all their thoughts were centred in that scene where eligious light dwelt as personified in her home.

10 Once more he announces the certain defeat and chastisement of the incarnate falsehood and her adherents which enables

him only the more impressively to describe the rapid reunion of the righteous amid the home happiness of Heaven

11 Having delivered his brief but weighty communication he commends his hearers for learning the holy vows of the Religion on account of the duration of the announced rewards and punishments They shall be long indeed and upon their complete inauguration full salvation shall be realised for those who shall have learned and heeded the invaluable truths

Translation

1 And now I will proclaim, O ye who are drawing near and seeking¹ to be taught! those animadversions² which appertain to Him who knows (all things) whatsoever the praises which are for Ahura, and the sacrifices (which spring) from the Good Mind, and likewise the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness And I pray³ that propitious results may be seen in the lights

¹ As *ish* means approaching with desire the Pahlavi translator has freely *khvahrino*

² Read *māzdatha*

³ So with long *ê* but *yaêkâ* (P¹¹ supported by the Pahl.) may be the lost dual neuter of the pronoun referring to the two principles discussed below *Yê*â*=I pray for although the most natural rendering grammatically does not seem so well adapted here as a prayer for the success of his communication does not harmonise with the otherwise dogmatic statements of the composer The *urvâtâ* (*vrata*) founded upon the doctrine of dualism bring about salvation They may therefore be touched upon in this introductory verse And that the heavenly bodies contained indications bearing directly or indirectly upon human destiny seems to have been early an accepted doctrine (Compare also chap XXIX 3 where 'the lofty fires' seem alluded to as moved by the Deity and his in immediate connection with the discussion of the most important problems concerning the fate of the holy community) It is however not impossible that the lights of the altar may have been meant (See *sûkâ* in the second verse) The Pahlavi translation

2 Hear ye then with your ears see ye the bright flames¹ with the (eyes of the) Better Mind It is for a decision as to religions man and man, each individually for himself Before the great effort of the cause awake ye² (all) to our³ teaching¹

3 Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair⁴ (combining their opposite strivings) and (yet each) independent in his action have been famed (of old) (They are) a better thing they two and a worse⁵, as to thought as to word and as to deed And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright (Choose ye⁶) no⁺ (as) the evil doers⁷!

has den rôshano pavan vénisno hû ravâkn manñh As to yê^{*}kâ or yaêkâ the Pahlavi does not favour a verbal form But if the pronoun is accepted even then change is needed yaekâ ja=yéka yéna is hardly possible. We should be obliged to render And which two things (were those?) whereby (adverbially) propitious results have been seen in the stars Others have experienced difficulty and even ashayaekâ(?) has been conjecturally suggested for this place and chap LI 2 Neither Sp nor Westg report a long ê

¹ Gôshâno srûd nyôkhshwññh [aighas gosh bara varammund]—Zak 1 roshano Otherwise with the eye but see yâ raokebis daresatâ urvazâ The altar flame would not unnaturally be mentioned after the heavenly lights

² Literally (be ye) wakeful

³ Hardly to teach us Possibly to teach this each one

⁴ Pahl transcribes Notice that paouruye (pourviye) is neut^{*} as are vahyô and akemkâ which is not lightly to be passed over

⁵ The Pahlavi freely Benafsman—[aighsânô vinâs va kîrfak benafsman barâ yemalelund] They announced themselves as sin and good works Ner yau punyam pâpan kâ svayam avokatâm

⁶ Barâ vîgîd Ner vibhaktavan^{*} If a third plural subjunctive still the force is as if imperative Possibly it is pretent

⁷ On this important verse I cite Neryosangh He may be rendered as follows Thus the two spirits [Hormigda and Aharmana] who uttered first in the world each his own (principle) [that is who each uttered one his own good (deed) and the other his own sin] these were a pair in thought word and deed a highest

^{*} Adverb (?)

4 (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make¹ life and life's absence² and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered) for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State³,

5 (Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they chose distinctly each his separate realm) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil) thereby working⁴ the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit chose the

and a degraded one And of these two the one endowed with good intelligence [] was the distinguisher of the true and not the one endowed with evil intelligence [] (Both he and the Pahlavi fail to credit a plural form in *eresvishyatâ* with Spiegel and Hübschmann)

The Gathic verbatim Yea (=thereupon) the two the two spirits the-two first things which two two twins two self acting ones were heard of in thought in word and in deed these two a better an evil- and Of which two-and the wisely acting (ones) might may discern not the evil acting ones

¹ The Pahlavi *r ad* as an infinitive *dazdê=avo zak dahurnô* (So also an important authority recently) Otherwise it has the place of a third dual perfect they two made The place of an infinitive is not generally at the end of a sentence in Gâthic Can it be simply a third singular? (Each) makes (*kamasâ karoti*)

² Pavan zendakih—*va mûnik azendakih* Ner *gîv tenaka agivi tenaka* Observe the singular abstract *agyâtumkâ* which is not lightly to be passed over Why not a more ordinary expression? Have we not here an unusual antithesis? The danger is great that by aiming to reduce all to commonplace for the sake of safety we may demolish many an interesting conception of antiquity

³ Observe the subjectivity These verses settle the question as to the depth of the Zarathustrian hymns Grammar forces us to see that the composer had large ideas The entire cast of reflection in the Gathas tends to be abstract as well as subjective Not so their invective and partisan exhortations

⁴ Verezyô is a nom sing masc as would seem natural from its position in the sentence Compare *mathraiv verezyâis*

⁵ Observe that Ahura is undoubtedly called *spenista mainyu* Elsewhere we must sometimes render 'His bountiful spirit'

(Divine) Righteousness (yea He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm¹ stones of heaven (as His robe) And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith²

6 And between these two spirits the Demon gods (and they who give them worship) can make no righteous choice³ since we have beguiled⁴ them As they were questioning and debating in their council⁵ the (personified⁶) Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen (They made their

¹ Zak î sakht sag rihû'tô âsmânê Ner Gâdhataram* akâsam dadau

² Who with actions really good piously content Ahura Let it be noticed that fraorez is not independently translated by the Pahlavi It is freely included in avo Aûharmazd, and yet this is supposed by some to be a word for word rendering! Ner prakatâiska ka mabhrê

Verbatim Of these two spirits he-chose o himself (he) who (was) the evil (the one) the worst (deeds) working* The Righteous Order (accusative) (chose) the spirit most bountiful (he) who the most firm stones clothes-on himself (hose) who and will content Ahura with real actions believably Mazda

(Properly a verbatim rendering is only possible in an inflected language)

³ Lâ râstô vîgnêna They suffer judicial blindness a common idea in the Gâthas compare who holds them from the sight of the truth &c

⁴ The root is indicated by va mûnê valmansân frîst I can see no escape from the above rather adventurous rendering See also dafshnyâ heztû in chap LIII, 8 Perhaps the idea of injury here preponderates over that of deceit 'since we have impaired their power The choice between a pretent or an improper subjunctive is also difficult. Possibly so that we may fatally deceive them Poss nom deception came upon them even A M

⁵ This recalls Vendidad XIX 45 where the demons assemble in council to consider the advent of Zarathustra.

⁶ Compare verse 4 where Vahurtem Manô equals heaven. The

fatal decision) And thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Fury that they might pollute¹ the lives of mortals

7 Upon this³ Âramaiti (the personified Piety of the saints) approached and with her came the Sovereign Power the Good Mind and the Righteous Order And (to the spiritual creations of good and of evil) Âramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous⁴ And for these (Thy people) so let⁵ (that

word is the subject of *gasat* and has the proper place of a nominative in the sentence cp Vedic usage

¹ That they might disease (so literally) the lives of those who had not yet been tempted or fallen

The Pahlavi *Vimârinîdo ahvan i marzûmân* [aigh levatman aêshm anrûlââr ahûk'nênd]

Ner *Ye nigaghnur bhuvanam manushyânâm*

Hübschmann 'um durch inn Plagen über das Leben des Menschen zu bringen

Verbatim Of these two spirits not aright may choose the Daêvas since these we have beguiled (or have injured) To the questioning ones upon came he in order that he might be chosen (subjunctive middle) he the worst mind Thereupon to furious rapine they rushed together in order that (yena) they might disease (or ruin) the life of man

³ Or to him some unnamed benefactor hardly to us The Pahlavi has *avo valman* but Ner has only *tatraâ* Observe *ahmâ* in chap XLIII 1 and in chap XLVII

⁴ Root *ân=în* The Pahlavi freely *pavan astûbih* He seems to have thought of *nam + a priv*

kehrpem is feminine *Ânmâ* may be a neuter in apposition

Otherwise we must accept *mâ* as a suffix Or can *kehrpem* (corpus) be a neuter here? The clothing of the spirits with corporeal natures enabled them to advance in the development of moral qualities by self restraint and pursuit As has been observed in the summary no Fravashis appear in the Gathas Have we here possibly an indication of the pre existence of souls? If Âramaiti gave a body it may be inferred that a period elapsed between the acts of the two spirits and this

⁵ That bodies are to be given to the saints as at the first is to

body) be (at the last) O Mazda¹ as it was when Thou camest first with creations^{1 1}

8 And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daévas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally²) and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then O Mazda¹ the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk) For to those O living Lord^{1 1} does (that Good Mind³) utter his command who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands⁴ of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer)

9 And may we be such as those who bring on

be inferred from Yas XIX 89 (Which see in part II of the translations of the Zend Avesta)

¹ Verbatim To this (to us?) and with Khshathra came with Manah Vohu with Asha and (Aramaiti) thereupon a body the continuing gave Âr(a)maiti the strenuous (Âramaiti or the body a vigorous and strenuous thing)

Of these thine (or to thee) to let it (the body) be as thou camest in creations the-first

² See verse 6

³ What else can be the subject of sasti?

⁴ Observe the pronounced personification of Righteousness As a matter of course the ultimate sense is more commonplace as is the case with all poetical matter Into the hands of Asha is the same as to say 'into the power of the servant of God'

But would this be a proper mode of rendering a line of real though rudely primitive poetry? Such renderings are commentary rather than translation The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows Thus also in that creation [in the final body] hatred comes to these haters and sinners [that is the avengers shall execute chastisement upon them] And, therefore O Aûharmazd what to thee is the sovereignty by that (so possibly) shall Vohûman give a reward Through these O Auharmazd¹ [through the religion of Aûharmazd] when one is instructed in Righteousness [that is as to the interests of the pious] then the Drug is given into one's hand [the Drûg who is Aharmôk]

this great renovation and make this world progressive (till its perfection shall have been reached) (As) the Ahuras of Mazda¹ (even) may we be (yea like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet (Thy people) presenting (benefits²) in union with the Righteous Order For there⁴ will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home⁵

10 (And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood (and her adherents shall perish with her) but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints

¹ Otherwise the Ahura Mazdas or, O Mazda and the Ahuras! I think that the most natural rendering according to the grammar should first be given notwithstanding something uncommon about it. All the Ahura Mazdas has been seen by Roth in chapter XXXI 4

² The Pahlavi has the gloss [aighsân hamîshakô hangaman madam tanô i pasirô kûnirô] needlessly enlarged of course, but showing the proper root which is *mi-* (so Spiegel)

³ Or possibly sustaining (the feeble) The Pahlavi reads simply *dedrumisno*

⁴ The Pahlavi renders *hathrâ* in the Indian sense as *asâr** endlessly, so others elsewhere *Hathrâ* and *yathrâ* are of course distinctly in antithesis

⁵ The Pahlavi *mihânô* Persian *makân* That *maêthâ* is an adverbial instrumental meaning in one's home seems the more probable from the two *hathrâ* *yathrâ* adverbs of place Compare for instance, *athrâ* *yathrâ* in XLVI 16 where *shaêiti* follows Hubschmann, *Dort mogen (unsre) Sinne sein wo die Weisheit thron* see also *hustôur* in the next verse

The Parsi persian MS has—*Aedûnô* (sic) *ham mâ kih ân i tû hastam* (sic) [*kû ân i tû hwêr hastam*] *in—rastâ hiz kardan andar gihân*

(c) *Kih—munirn bêd* [*kû munirn pah—dârad*] *as ângâ dânat hast* [*kû, â'hur i hiz pah nêki bih dânad*] *andar makân*

shall gather they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute¹ (and honour)²

11 Wherefore O ye men¹ ye are learning³ (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness⁴ and (our) sorrow⁵ (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous And when these (shall have begun their course), salvation shall be (your portion⁶)¹

¹ Pahlavi, *mūn i adūnd zak ī sapir nāmikih* = they are creating a good repute as if *zagentē* were understood in the sense of produce See the sense bear as given for *hā*, Rīg veda 843, 2 (X 17) The analogy is however not strong

² The Pahlavi translation may here be rendered as follows Thus in that dispensation [in the later body] the Drūg [who is Garāk Minavad] will be overthrown [] when (his) host is scattered Thus they move keenly on [to seize the reward] which is attained through the good citizenship of Vohuman [when they shall have dwelt in piety] They who are creating a good renown are thus moving on toward Aūharmazd and Ashavahust [that is the person who is of good repute goes forward to seize the reward]

³ Once more the anomalous form *amūkhtunō* meets us in the Pahlavi May this not be intended to express learning whereas *āmūzīno* would express teaching? I hardly think so

⁴ The Pahlavi translation is only remotely if at all responsible for *hānka* as = *suz sponte* This would require *hān* as = **hāti* with difficulty comparing *yim* and *ym* (?) It is generally considered now as = *hu + ti*, but the letter *h* = *w* seems doubtful

⁵ *Read amti* = with impeded progress In prosperity or adversity But these are conjectures

⁶ The Pahlavi *Aētūno akhar valmansān aīdō nadūkih* I do not think that we ought to regard the words of the original as expressing universal restoration But they may well have given the first indication toward this later view Literally they state it, but not when correctly understood

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. The Pahlavi word *yomāi* which transcribes *yesna* in verse 4 cannot mean by day Its imperfect form induced the translators to translate *rūzhā* and *bhūmandale* but these scholars, as in many other instances hinted at a correction)

YASNA XXXI

THE PROGRESS AND STRUGGLES OF THE CAUSE

This composition differs from that in XXX as descending from the more general to the particular and from the doctrinal to the practical. One might even trace an immediate connection *urvâta* occurring in the last verse of the one and in the first of the other. It is of course very possible that the verses before us are only a remnant of those which originally constituted the piece and here and there one may have been interpolated from other scriptures.

Some writers prefer to assume a loss of the original text or an addition to it at the smallest change of tone and to assume also a change of subject with it. I do not regard it as very useful to lay too much stress upon these occurrences.

Whether caused by gaps or interpolations they do not at all affect the fact that the subject matter is homogeneous and contemporaneous and, probably like many more modern compositions the verses gain in historical effect by being weeded of repetitions.

We might divide as follows 1-2, an address to the congregation to be connected with XXV as its concluding words 3-5 an address to Ahura 6 an address to the faithful 7-17 to Ahura 18 to the congregation 19 to Ahura 20, 21 to the congregation 22 an addition.

Treating the section then as containing homogeneous matter which combines well into a unit I proceed as follows. The sage chants his hymn in the presence of the multitude as before.

1 He declares that while he is reciting things unwillingly heard by the hostile party those same truths are valued as the best of existing things by those who are sincerely devoted to Mazda, their good disposition quickening their perception.

2 He then declares that if the truths of the holy Religion are not yet clearly seen by the instrumentalities provided he will approach them still more effectively in accordance with the especial regulation of the spiritual chieftainship which Ahura Mazda had prepared in response to the lament of the soul of the King, 1 e of the Iranian herds and people possibly as representing the entire holy or clean, creation upon earth. And he further asserts that this regulation concerns the struggle of the two parties and will bring the cause of the Righteous Order to a successful issue.

3 Changing his address to Ahura he proceeds to pray at once

for that satisfying decision which would be the natural result of the court on just position and which could be given by the instrumentality of the Sacred Fire and holy ritual affording mental keenness to the two contending parties. And he declares that this is the doctrine which should be proclaimed for the conversion of mankind. Here we observe that the Zarathustrian Mazda worship was aggressive and missionary in its spirit and in a proselyting sense by no means indifferent to the final destiny of the Gentile world. (The latter and traditional system announced indeed the restoration and so the conversion of all men and that not as an object proposed to the efforts of charity but as a necessary result (so by inference see Bundahis (West) pp 126 129). I can find no trace of this in the Gathas.

Here we have only the effort to convert.)

4 Addressing all the Bountiful Immortals and with the striking title of the Ahuras of Mazda he prays for the establishment of the mighty kingdom by means of which he might overcome the personified and aggressive falsehood of the opposing and persecuting Dæva worshippers.

5 In order to enable himself to fulfil his mission he asks for prophetic and judicial knowledge as to what ought to be done or as to what is about to happen in the immediate future.

6 He lauds the Māthra which we may suppose him to recognise as delivered to him afresh in answer to his prayer for prophetic light and he praises co-ordinately with the Word of God that Sovereign Authority of Ahura which was to be established in a kingdom where goodness would increase and be prosperous if not predominant.

7 He takes the heavenly bodies as evidence of the wisdom of Him who created the Sacred Order personified as the Immortal Asha and also the Good Mind his equal. And he ascribes the support and extension of their all-pervading influence to Ahura because He never changes.

8 He reiterates in expressions which form the basis for another hymn his conception of Mazda as the supreme object of devotion as the father of the Good Mind personified as His child as the creator of the Righteous Order and as both the controller and the judge of human actions. Therefore the Good Mind and Righteousness are to be worshipped as standing in the closest possible relation to him.

9 He ascribes the Immortal Piety to Him as well. She is His own and elsewhere His own daughter. He is declared as in

chapter XXIX to be the Creator of the Kine and of Under-stand g (His own intelligence) to guide Him in the disposition of the destiny of the holy Iranian people. And according to it He makes the path for the Kine which as a matter of course has no meaning as applied to bucolics but is full of meaning when read in view of the wail of the Kine's Soul in chapter XXIX and of the intervention of the Deity in her behalf for He actually appointed Zarathust a to meet her necessities. He adds, however that her free choice is not abolished by the construction of this path. It is elsewhere called the religion of the Saviour prophets and she is free to proceed in it guided by the first prophet the ideal husband man or she can follow the profaner nomad.

10 But he thankfully exclaims that she does not pause in decision nor does she choose perversely. She selects the guardian appointed by Ahura the diligent and pious husbandman elsewhere identified with Zarathustra himself. He is rich with the spiritual wealth of the Good Mind and she rejects in his favour the idle and free booting nomad excluding him from all share in the sacred religious system.

11 The composer then delineates the struggle which inevitably follows this establishment of the needed means of deliverance. When Mazda has completed the inspiration of doctrines teaching whither the one endowed with free volition (like the Kine [verse 9]) should direct his choice in action (12) there upon the spot as it were the ignorant Daëva worshipper makes himself heard beside God's spokesman. But the prophet is consoled by the reflection that the pious mind will not question the evil Spirit or the good Spirit superficially. It searches both the Spirits questioning them as it were in their very home. (Hence it is that Ahura speaks so fully concerning Angra Mainyu, delineating his opposition to Him in extended detail. See XLV 2.)

13 The composer is still more reanimated by the certainty that Ahura is gazing into the depths of all questions trivial and profound which is to say that he observes most closely the men who are discussing them. And he declares that he also sees the cruel injustice of the punishments which the tyrants visit upon the smallest offences, as well as the more flagrant wickedness of those who persecute his adherents without even a pretence of justice.

14 As he recalls the divine forecasting omniscience he asks Ahura once more concerning the future which was close at hand with its portentous events. And he inquires as to the nature of the veritable and not iniquitous confessions which were properly due to

be made by the righteous believer in order to avert the impending calamities and secure the upper hand in the struggle for the throne. And he inquires also as to the proper expiatory prayers which were to be offered by the believer. He does not however fail to inquire analogously concerning the wicked, nor to ask how they as well as the righteous, shall be situated in the final consummation.

15 Particularising as to the latter he asks what shall be the punishment for those who succeed in installing an evil monarch one of the Daëva party a prince who cannot exist without the ruthless persecution of the pious husbandman, who repudiates the Lie demon presiding over the counsels and efforts of the opposing religion.

16 He further asks how and by what actions the wise man may become like Ahura, or his faithful adherent the expressions used implying deep religious feeling.

17 Striving to arouse the perceptions of his hearers he inquires as to which one of the two parties holds to the greater or more important religion the disciple of Asha, the personified Righteous Order Ahura's immediate creature (see above) or the opponent. And he prays that no blind guide may deceive him or those who belong to him but that the enlightened yea even Ahura Himself may speak to him and become the indicator and demonstrator of the truth.

18 Closing this address to the Deity he turns to the congregation vehemently forbidding them to listen to the doctrines of his opponents warning them against the ruin and death which would ensue and fiercely appealing to the sword.

19 Once more addressing Ahura, he prays that they may on the contrary listen to Him who has power to vindicate the conscientious Zarathustrian inculcating veracity upon him and encouraging him in his practice and thus by means of the holy sacrifice or ordeal of the Fire.

20 He solemnly warns those who would seduce the righteous of their ultimate fate and adds that their sorrows will be self-induced if they persevere in their hostility. Their own consciences (as we see from Yast XXII) would not only bring on their ruin but would form a part of their punishment.

21 On the other hand happiness and immortality will be the lot of the faithful. And these eternal two will be given to them accompanied by the fulness of Righteousness and the exuberant vigour of the Good and Kindly Mind within them and bestowing its blessings upon them.

22 In conclusio Je uos ophses hem r f ce a v of the
 this when he declares a d add es r Ahu r arrates the
 faithful no me cly with the hope of the objective recompense but
 with the prospect of being efficient as se vants of God

Translat on

1 These doctrines (therefore) we are earnestly
 declating to You as we recite them foith from
 memory woras (till now) unheard¹ (with faith) by
 those who by means of the doctrinal vows² of the
 harmful Lie are delivering the settlements of
 Righteousness to death but words which are of the
 best unto those who are heartily devoted to Ahura³

2 And if by this means the indubitable truths⁴
 are not seen in the soul⁵ then as better (than these
 words) I will come to you all (in my person) with

¹ Roth wollen wir Worte kunden—unsern gehort von denen
 welche nach des Unholds Geboten &c Hubschmann preferring
 wir sprechen Worte nicht anhorbar für diejenigen (Casuslehre s
 223) A dative of the pronoun is certainly more natu al than the abla
 tive as inst But on the whole *igushta* seems better in its ordinary
 sense although in so rendering we are obliged to supply a word

*Valmansân mûn pavan âfingânih î Drug zak î Aharayih
 gêhân barâ marenkinend*

² The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows Both these benedic
 tions which I (we) recite as yours [the Avesta and Zand] we are
 teaching by word to him who is no hearer [to the destroyer of
 sanctity (the heretical persecutor) []] Those who utterly slay the
 world of righteousness through the benedictions of the Drug []
 even those might be an excellent thing if they would cause progress
 in what belongs to Aôharmazd

⁴ Read perhaps *advayâo* see the Pahlavi Otherwise 'the way
advâo as *panthâs*, but the participle * does not agree Compare
 for meaning *kavm advayantam sâkhâ advayâs*

⁵ The Pahlavi renders 'in the soul freely by 'believes *Pavan
 nikurmo lâ hêmunnêzô as pavan zak î agûmânukih* The general
 indications are to be observed

* Is it a loc ?

that power and in that way according to which Ahura Mazda knows and appoints His ruler¹, that ruler over both the two (struggling) bands², in order that we (in obedience to him), may live according to Righteousness³

3 And that keenness that deciding satisfaction which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit⁴ and (Thy) Fire and by Thy Righteousness (itself) to the two battling⁵ (sides) do Thou declare unto us, O Ahura¹ that vow which is for the seeing⁶ (as those endowed with mental light) Yea do Thou declare this that we may know it, O Mazda¹ With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it (that as I preach its mighty truths⁷) I may make all the living believers⁸!

¹ Comp chap XXIX 2 where the Ratu is discussed here the word might be the abstract

² Roth dieser beiden Parteien (Yasna XXXI)

³ He repels and condemns the evil and he hallows and helps the good

⁴ Most striking is the use of manyu It is the Spirit = God It is 'His Spirit' It is also used of man's spirit

⁵ Or from the two aram but see āsapāo in verse 2 The Pahlavi translator has avō patkārāzāno shnakhtārih so uniformly In Y XLIII 12 K5 and most MSS except K4 and likewise excepting the printed B V S read ranōibyō which excludes the dual form also the fire is not mentioned there It is however far from impossible that the present Pahlavi translation may be a growth beyond an earlier one more in accordance with aram The strivers or fighters might describe the two rubbing sticks (?)

⁶ Aīmar (sic) vigārdar This meaning suits the connection admirably The word is otherwise difficult and this general sense is followed by some who do not so often cite the Pahlavi translator

⁷ See verse 1

⁸ Roth 'wie ich alle Lebenden bekehren soll' So also the general indication of the Pahlavi translator Pavan hazvāno ī Lak—zivandakān harvist gēn hēmnund. Observe that the religious system contemplated universal proselytism

4 And when the Divine Righteousness shall be inclined to my appeal¹ and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda s² (own) Ahuras then with the blessedness (of the reward) with (my) Piety and with Thy Best Mind (active within me) I will pray³ for that mighty Kingdom by whose force⁴ we may smite the Lie demon⁵

5 Aye do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thy) Righteous Order the better (lot) is⁶ given tell me this that I may know it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me) and that I may ponder⁷ that to which these my truths⁸ belong (and

¹ The general indications *kantântâr* and *bavhânam* point to the proper sense

² Or with Roth *wern wirklich sich rufen lassen die Ahura-Mazdas* Otherwise O Mazda and the Ahuras Hübschmann also maintained that Mazda was here a plural, (see his Y XXX, 10)

³ Roth rendering *ishasâ* in accordance with the Pahlavi, *erbitte ich*

⁴ *Mûn pavan zak i valman gûrdîh—khushîdo D ūgo aē* sufficiently indicates the proper sense Roth, *kraft deren wir den Unhold bemeistern mögen*

⁵ The Pahlavi may be rendered thus Since in that dispensation [in the final body] I shall be an invoker of Ashavahist, and of Auharmazd also [] and of her who is veneration Spendar mad [] I desire [that bes of things which is the reward] of Vohuman Let also the authority which belongs to my people [] be from the strong one [] by whose fortitude [] the Drûg is overcome []

⁶ Literally Ye gave

⁷ I am far from sure that the indication of the Pahlavi is not correct here According to it when properly understood, we have here an accusative with the infinitive that I should establish Its own translation is however *avo li yehabunâi* *Men*=man or *mām en(g)*=ā the nasal vowel The Pahl translator recognises *men* elsewhere as=*min*no It was from no ignorance (!) of the particular word that he wrote *li* here

⁸ Or my prophet, comp *zshî* that is that with which my prophet is concerned

of which my prophet speaks, yea) tell me those things, O Mazda Ahura! which may not be, and which may be¹

6^a And that verily shall be the best of all words to Him which the All (wise one) will^a declare to me in very deed, that word which is the Māthra of Welfare and of Immortality (for it proclaims His beneficent power) And to the Great Creator (shall there be) a Realm such as that (whose strength I asked for victory⁴), and which (at the last) shall flourish^a in its holiness to His (glory⁶)¹

7 (For He has sovereign control) He who conceived of these (truths of the Māthra) as their first (inspirer) (and as He thought their existence they

¹ Or possibly 'which shall not be, or which shall be' Is the subjunctive here used to express obligation? Roth has *was nicht sein soll oder was sein soll* Ner may be rendered as follows Tell it to me distinctly [] that which is the highest gift and which is given to me through sanctity [that is because duty and righteousness are fulfilled by me the best gift of thy reward (is gained) by this means, but how is it possible to make it (actually) one's own?] Grant me the knowledge through the best mind, [that is declare that intelligence to me which comes through good conduct] and by which also safety is (secured) to me [] And declare either that which is not or that which is O Great Wise One, the Lord! []

² An interval of silence seems here to intervene or lost verses leave an unexplained transition The sage turns again to the people

³ *Vaokāt K4* (Barth)

⁴ See verse 4

⁵ The Pahlavi has *Aθharmazd avānd* (sic) *khūšāy h kand dēn valman vakhshēd Vohumano*

⁶ The Parsi persian MS is as follows *Ū hast buland kih ān man āgahihā* (sic) *gū ī āskārah* [] *nānsar : tamām raftanī* [kū, tamām pēdawn pah rāh : mansar bāz ān hwēsi : Hōrmuzd rasēd] *kih pah Sawāb dārad—bī marg raftanī azar* [] *Hōrmuzd—hudat kand andar ū afzayēd Bahman* [*Kūs pādīsāhi pah tan : mard—kandī (?) Hōrmuzd pah tan mihmān*]

(all) as (His) glorious (conceptions first) clothed themselves in the stars) He is through His understanding the Creator³ of the Righteous Order And thus likewise He supports His Beneficent Mind (in His saints) And these (holy creatures) may st Thou cause to prosper by Thy Spirit (since they are Thine own) O Ahura Mazda¹ Thou who art for every hour the same⁴!

8 Therefore⁵ as the first⁶ did I conceive of Thee O Ahura Mazda¹ as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation as the Father of the Good Mind within us when I beheld Thee⁷ with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness as the Lord of the actions of life⁸!

9 Thine, O Ahura¹ was Piety, yea Thine O Creator of the Kine¹ was understanding and the

¹ Munas avō rōsha ūh gūmāhto khvārēh Hvāthrā and khvārēh can hardly mean 'comfortable here' Ease is the later sense

² Rōshēbis certainly means with illuminating objects stars or shining lights

³ Hubschmann der Schöpfer des Asha — Casuslehre s 190

⁴ Pavān minavadikih vakhshinēd [] mīn kevanē ham khudāi

⁵ Compare the frequent expression spentem at Thwā menhī in chap XLIII

⁶ Roth vornehmsten

⁷ When I seized Thee (took Thee in) with my eye The Pahlavi Amātām [] pavan hamkashmīh avō ham vakhdūdā homanīh

⁸ Dēn ahvānō pavan kunīno khudāi hōmanūh

Ner may be rendered as follows Thus thou wert thought at the first by me, O Great Wise One the Lord¹ when thou wert engaged in the production of Gvahmana [] In which (production) they apprehend the father of the Best Mind when they observe him with a full faced look [] (And thou art the father) of that creation which is manifestly righteous [that is thou makest the purer creation good in conduct] Thou art a King in the world as to action, [that is where it is fitting to confer a benefit and also where it is fitting to inflict a punishment in each of these thou art capable]

Spirit when Thou didst order a path for her (guiding) From the earth's tiller (aided²) she goeth³ (in that allotted way) or from him who was never tiller (Thy path hath given her choice⁴)

10 (But she did not pause in temptation) Of the two she chose⁵ the husbandman the thrifty toiler in the fields⁶ as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's wealth⁷ Never Mazda¹ shall

¹ His *spenta manyu* otherwise spiritual (understanding) but *manyu* is used elsewhere (verse 3 and 7) alone and certainly not as an adjective even with a substantive understood. The rendering spirit as Thy spirit is suspiciously significant but what is the help? We are forced by grammar so to translate.

² The ablative has this force as in *Asha/ hafa*.

³ I can hardly accede to an infinitive here. *tē* is a rare infinitive termination in Gāthic. Also the infinitive seldom falls to the end of the sentence. The Pahlavi has *yâtûnēd* a present but the Pahlavi should never be positively cited for the forms as it is feeble.

⁴ Observe that we are forced by every dictate of logic and common sense to avoid the commonplace rendering here. Cattle do not have paths made for them nor do they cry aloud for an overseer or complain at the appointment of one who does not appear to them promising nor is it one main effort of religion to content the soul of cattle. Cattle as the chief article of wealth are taken to signify all civic life. The path is the path for the people to walk in securing safety for soul and life and herds. The *adhvan* is the way which is the religious characteristics and teachings of the prophets (XXXIV 13).

⁵ Observe that this cow (some would say ox) chooses her master unlike other cattle. But observe also, what is more interesting, that she seems reconciled to the guardian appointed by Ahura. In Y XXXIX, 9 she actually wept at the naming of the pusillanimous Zarathustra desiring a kingly potentate. Now however we see that she must have dried her tears as she is satisfied with the simple workman whom he represents notwithstanding high rank.

⁶ In the later Avesta this first *vistya* frujant is declared to be Zarathustra.

⁷ *Mûn fruh pavan Vohûmanô*

the th eving¹ nomad share the good creed² (For the K ne s cho ce would bestow it³)

11 (And this doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee) For when first O Ahura Mazda¹ Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws⁴ and when Thou gavest (us) understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life⁵, and (didst thus determine) actions (by Thy power) and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices⁶

12 (There strife at once arose and still is raging) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar the enlightened or unenlightened lifts his voice (to utter

¹ Pahlavi *davāsahak*, Ner *pratārayitre*

² *Khūpo hōshmtūrwih* Judicial blindness is everywhere indicated (The wicked are kept from the sight of the truth.) Hubschm, *Casuslehre der frohen Botschaft*

³ This seems implied

⁴ Or madest the worlds and the souls (?)

⁵ Geldner admirably flesh The Pahlavi *tanū hōmandānō gān yehabānō* Notice that bodily life or flesh is mentioned after understanding Compare Y XXX 7 where *Āramaiti* gives a body after previous creations

⁶ The Pahlavi has the following interesting gloss [That is even the actions and teachings of the pious are given forth by thee and this was also given in this wisdom of thy mind] And when there is a person in whom there is a desire for the other world, that desire is granted to him by thee, [that is, what is necessary when he is arriving in the other world this which is thus required (or desired) by him at that time is given by thee—through that which is thy mind and wisdom] Although not able to follow the indications of the Pahlavi fully I think that there is no question but that we have an important statement in the last line It does not seem to me possible to render less profoundly than where he wisher may place his choices' his religious preferences and beliefs, including all moral volition

his faith) and with devoted mind and heart¹ (But without hindrance from this striving or pausing with feeble search² our) Piety steadily³ questions the two spirits⁴ (not here on earth) but (there in the spirit world) where (they dwell as) in their home⁵

13 (Yea my Piety questions searchingly for Thou O Maker⁶ hast Thy view on all, we cannot question lightly) What questions are asked which are open⁷ (permitted to our thoughts) or what questions (are asked) which are furtive⁸ (hiding themselves from the light) or (what decision soever we may make and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance on all⁹ with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard Thou art gazing¹⁰!

¹ Avo zak libbemman

² See verse 3

³ Pavan haginō ī the Persian MS (Haug XII b) tran literates k'hēzino Ner has maro utthanena (ع) Or immediately

⁴ The evil as well as the good spirit is questioned The two spirits of Y XXX 3-6 were here inspiring the conflict

⁵ The Pahlavi unvaryingly in the sense of ruhāno [as gās tamman yebvunēzō], Ner paralokanivasin See Y XXX 9 XXXIII 9 XXXIV 6 A questioning which was lightly made would indicate a willingness to tamper with error The Persian MS following the Pahlavi has Anga bīng : buland ān : durūgh guftār [Ganā Minu] wa ān ham : rāst guftār [Hōrmuzd] &c But Neryosangh is more accurate or literal Atra bumbam* karoti [antar gagati] mithyāvakta vā satyavakta vā &c

⁶ Pavan zak : ashkārakō

⁷ Nihānīk.

⁸ Thou seest even the questions and decisions of our thoughts as to matters which are simple or difficult permitted or occult

⁹ I have not followed what may yet possibly be a valuable and correct hint of tradition I render Neryosangh He who asks through what is open [through righteousness] or he who asks through what is secret [through sin] or he (also) who through or on account of a little sin which has been committed commits the great one to secure a purification, [that is who for the sake of purification necessary on account of a little sin which has been committed commits a greater one in order that the first may not

14 This then I will ask Thee O Ahur Mazda (as I seek Thy counsel once again¹) What events are coming now and what events shall come in the future² and what prayers with debt confessions³ are offered with⁴ the offerings of the holy? And what (are the awards) for the wicked? And how shall they be in the (final) state⁵ of completion⁶?

15 And I would ask Thee this O Mazda! (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked) What is the award⁷ for him who prepares the throne⁸ for the evil, for the evil doer⁹ O Ahura! for him who cannot else reclaim¹⁰ his life not else save¹¹ with lawless

become known] upon these two each of them look with thy two eyes [Over sins and righteous actions thou art in one way every where and again, the Lord] The concretes here may give the right indication

¹ See verse 5

Mun madō mūnik yāmtūnêdō What has come? And what is coming?

² Mun avam

⁴ Haḥâ in the Indian sense

⁵ Angarōṅkih the judgment but Ner vipāl atâ consummation

⁶ Neryosangh has as follows Tād dvitayam tvattaḥ* prīkṣhami Svāmim | yad āgatam āyātuka yo* rīnam dadate danebhyah *pun yātmane [Hormigdāya yathā yugyate dātum] yekā Mahāgnanin! durgatmadbhyah katham tesham asti vipakatā* evam [kila, yah tat kurute tasmai nidane prasadaadanam kim bhavati, yaska tat kurute tasmaka kim bhavati ti me brūhi] This seems to me very close far more so than we have any right to expect as a general rule from a Parsi living in India and only five or six centuries ago too late for 'tradition' and too early for close criticism

⁷ Roth Ich frage—was die Strafe ist?

⁸ The head of a party seems to have been plotting to introduce a hostile sovereign

⁹ Ī dur kūnīsnō

¹⁰ The Pahlavi translator nīvidīnêdō (otherwise nivēkinêd which I much suspect has become confused with nīvidīnêdō through a clerical blunder) Ner labhate They both refer vinastī to vid (so Justī) followed by most Roth (Yasna XXXI, p 11) der sein Brot nicht findet ohne Gewalthat an der Heerde

¹¹ The Pahlavi translator sees the root han in the sense of

harm to the tiller's herd to the pious husbandman's flock who speaks no word with lying (who abjures the Lie demon's faith¹) ?

16 Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this How such an one as he who with wise action has striven to promote (Thy holy) Rule² over house and region and province in the Righteous Order and in truth how he may become like Thee³ O Great Creator Living Lord ? And when he may so become (this also I would ask) and in what actions living he may so be⁴ ?

17 And which of the (religions) is the greater (and the more prevailing⁵ as to these questions which thus concern the soul⁶) Is it that which the

acquisition and not from ignorance of the sense given above In another place he renders *vigîd mir* (see XLVII 5)

¹ Neryosangh may be rendered as follows Thus I ask thee What is for him who seizes upon destruction and who provides the sovereignty for the wicked [] and commits that evil action O Lord ! from which he does not acquire life even through a bride* (so meaning) [] and who is a calamity to the man who acts for herds and men removing calamities from them [] ?

² Roth *de die Herrschaft über Hof Gau und Land um das rechte zu fördern* nat

³ Pahlavi *Lak hâvand* Neryosangh *tvattulyo* Roth, 'deiner werth

⁴ I render the Sanskrit of Neryosangh thus (it improves on the Pahlavi) I ask (thee) thus How [dost thou bestow] the sovereignty upon one when he is beneficently wise ? [] (in the body) of him who through the increase of sanctity is no opposer (of prosperity) in provinces or villages [that is with him who is discharging his duty and performing acts of sanctity He is this teacher's teacher he does not contend] Thine equal O Great Wise One the Lord ! thus is he verily who (is such) in action, [who is thus Thine equal through activity]

⁵ Possibly *mazyô* has the sense of *irazista* in chap L 1 There the most prevailing seems to be the proper rendering

righteous believes or the wicked ? (Let then our questionings cease) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened Let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice²) Do Thou thyself, O Ahura Mazda¹ declare³ to us (the truth) as Thy Good Mind's full revealer

18 (And you, ye assembled throngs¹) let not a man of you lend a hearing to Māthra or to command of that sinner⁴ (ignorant⁵ as he is) for home village region and province he would deliver to ruin⁶ and death But (fly ye to arms without hearing) and hew ye them all with the halberd⁷!

¹ Literally Which of the two (creeds as) the greater does the righteous (the believing saint) or the wicked (opponent) believe?

See verse 1.

² Or with others be Thou but the gloss of the Pahlavi translation contains an explanation which may well afford the true solution as in so many instances in which he is both consciously and inadvertently followed It reads [a'ghmānō barā khavitunīno—] May we not see an az=ah in the form or at least a separate Iranian root as also in azdā (L, 1), where the Pahlavi translator gives the same explanation admirably suited to the context

Neryosangh Which is it the pure of soul or the wicked who teaches as the great one? [] The intelligent speaks to the intelligent [] Be not thou ignorant after this because (ignorance is) from the deceiver Instruct us O Great Wise One the Lord! [] Furnish us with a sign through the Best Mind [that is make me steadfast in good conduct through the recognition of the dīn] Such renderings may suffice to show that an examination of these ancient translations in our search for hints is imperative Yet the practice prevails of omitting a knowledge of the Pahlavi language on which not only the oldest translation of the Avesta, but also the irregular Sanskrit of Neryosangh, closely depends.

⁴ Joly Keiner von euch bore auf die Lieder und Gebote des Lügners Roth Rath und Befehle

⁵ Compare evidvāo in verse 17

⁶ Dās rūbīnīh

⁷ Sazēd sanēh prepare the sabre It was however a two handed weapon see Y LVI 12 (4 Sp)

The Parsi persian MS Wa ma kas aedūn az sumā kih ū

19 Let them hear Him who conceived of the Righteous Order for the worlds the (all) wise One O Ahura! For truthful speech He rules with absolute sway over words and ever free of tongue (to guide us in our way¹) By Thy shining flame² (He doth guide us³, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers⁴

20 (But O ye listening men¹) he who renders

darwand mānsar sunawad wa amu hūšn (sic) [kī az Āsmōkân (?) Awestā wa Zand ma sunawad] ah andai—mañall sa'har wa den dehad bad rafusn wa marg an : Asmōgh aēdūn (sic) ōsan Asmōghān rā sâzad silāñ (Again very close)

¹ So conjecturally

² Compare chap XXX 2 Behold ye the flames with the better mind possibly also chap XXX 1 the signs in the lights seen friendly

³ According to the grammatical forms the agent here must be a divine being as *ye mantā ashem ahūbir* (see *ve se* 7) is characteristic of the Deity. The vocative strange as it may seem does not necessarily exclude Ahura as the subject referred to in *ye*. Several analogous cases occur. The Deity may here however represent His prophet as the Daēvas do their worshippers in the later Avesta. Some writers force the language into a reference to the human subject for the sake of the greatly to be desired simplicity.

One places Ahurā in the instrumental a case in which the Almighty seldom appears. The above translation needs no alternative as the language would be the same whoever *ye* refers to.

⁴ See note on verse 3 and read as alternative from the two *arar*. As an inferior rendering of tradition I cite Neryosangh here. The matter should be heard (taking *gūsbti* as a third singular in a subjunctive sense) [that is a study should be made of it by him] who is even (in any degree) acquainted with the righteous design of Hormisdas for both the worlds. He is independent in the literal truth of his words in his freedom of speech [and his fear has no existence]. Thy brilliant fire gives the explanation to the con- tenders [It makes purity and impurity evident]

the saint deceived¹ for him shall be later destruction² Long life shall be his lot in the darkness foul shall be his food his speech shall be of the lowest³ And this which is such a life⁴ as your own O ye vile⁵ your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring⁶ you⁶!

21 But Ahura Mazda will give both Universal Weal and Immortality⁷ in the fulness of His Righteous Order and from himself⁸ as the head⁹ of Dominion (within His saints) And He will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might¹⁰ to him who in spirit and deeds is His friend¹¹ (and with faith fulfils his vows¹²)

¹ I follow the admirable lead of the Pahlavi here as he previous verse mentions veracity Its indication is pavan frifirno freely

² I differ with diffidence from the hint of the Pahlavi here (as elsewhere) It has shivan=tears which however is free for calamity and sorrow Nom sing see its position

³ Anak rūbīrīh yemalehunêzō This placed together with such passages as XLVI 11 XLIX 11 and LI 13 formed the basis for the more complete Yast XXII

⁴ Others prefer place but see âyû in line b

⁵ Has led on ?

⁶ I cite Ner He who betrays the pure through his fraud may (deceit) be (also his portion) at the last [that is let it be so afterwards it is in his soul] Long is his journey and his arrival is in darkness and evil food and increasing lawlessness is his [] Darkness is your world O ye wicked! your in bred deeds and your din, are leading you on

That Ameretatâ means more than long life is clear from amesha

⁷ Afar nafsman path The Gâthic would be more literally perhaps from His own Dominion.

⁸ Sardârih ¹⁰ Vazdvarīh Ner pīvaratvam

¹¹ One naturally thinks of urvatha (vratha) as having something of the sense of vratyā But usage compels also the sense of friendship Hub-schmann Casuslehre s 259 der durch Gesinnung und Thaten sich ihm als freund erweist

¹² Ner Mahâgānī dadau Svamī* avirdādât* an irdādāt sampūr

22 And to the wise are these things clear as to the one discerning with his mind (not blinded by the perverter¹) With Thy Good Mind and Thy (holy) Kingdom he follows the Righteous Order both in his words and his actions And to Thee O Ahura Mazda¹ such a man shall be the most helpful and vigorous being² (for he serves with every power³)¹

*natvam puṇyatmane [] nigam prabhutvam ragne * ādhipatyena []
uttamena p varatvam nanasṛ [tasmai dadite] yo nigasja ṛdṛis
yamurteḥ karmana mitram*

¹ So according to frequent indications

² Tanu aito Ner Sa te—mitram asti niveditatanuḥ

³ See chap XXVIII 14 The Pahlavi translator renders freely as follows Manifest things (so possibly, otherwise manifestly) (are) these to (so a MS not yet elsewhere compared) the wise when according to his understanding he disposes and reflects [that is he who meditates with thought upon that which his lord and dastur declares to him] Good is the King for whom they would effect righteousness in word and deed the man whose body is a bearer of Thee O Aθharmazd¹

YASNA XXXII

THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUED IN THE MIDST OF
REVERSES

1 The same author may well be supposed to continue. The first stanzas have been lost but we observe that the subject of the section is still face to face with the Daeva warry. He seems to see them arrayed and engaged in hostile devotions. But he is not intimidated. The friendship of Ahura is before his mind and he expresses his desire that he and his colleagues may become o continue. His apostles notwithstanding the temporal sorrows which according to XLIII 11 we see that he clearly anticipated as the portion of those who would propagate the holy faith.

2 Mazda answers him and through him his followers as established in His spiritual sovereignty accepting the devotion of their piety with commendations and implied encouragements. He whom they would serve is supreme they need not fear.

3 After reporting this response of Ahura the composer turns with vehemence toward the Daevas poetically conceived to be present as if before then adherents who also according to verse 1 are supposed to be in sight (or are dramatically so conceived) celebrating their profane devotions and he addresses them as the very seed of Satan. Their worshippers belong to the religious falsehood and perversity. And they have persistently propagated their evil creed which is in consequence spreading.

4 They have so he acknowledges with grief perverted men's minds making them spokesmen for themselves and in consequence deserters from the great kindly Disposition of Ahura Mazda and outcasts fallen from His understanding.

5 They have destroyed the hopes of mankind for a happy life upon earth and so Immortality in heaven. And in this they are not only the seed of the Evil Mind personified but his servants rallying at his word.

6 Their leader is striving energetically so he mournfully bewails to effect his evil ends but it is time that he should recall the counteracting measures of Ahura. His holy doctrines are to be announced and their authority established by the divine Khshathra. His Sovereign Power personified.

7 The composer then contemplates with religious irony the infatuated security of the wretched delinquents whom he is apostrophising. Not a man of them knows the destruction which awaits him and which as he intimates is close at hand but Ahura he significantly exclaims is aware of it. And it will be proportionably severe. The blindness of sinners to danger seems as definite a judgment upon them in his estimate as their blindness to the truth.

8 To point his anger with an instance he names the apostate Yima whom he supposes to have erred in first introducing the consumption of the flesh of cattle. He disavows community with him as with them all declaring himself separate from them in Ahura's sight.

9 He acknowledges that their leader has to a certain degree defeated his teachings and impaired the just estimates of life which he had striven to form within the people (or that he will do this if not checked) declaring also that he had made roads upon his property which was sacred to the holy cause. And he cries aloud to Ahura and to Asha with the words of his very soul.

10 He repeats that their leader threatens to invalidate his teachings blaspheming the supreme object of nature the Sun together with the sacred Kine injuring the productive land and carrying murder among the saints.

11 He utters his bitter wail in view of attempted slaughter and actual spiritual opposition. He points out the plots among the powerful and their illegal confiscation of inheritances, as well those of women as those of men. And he declares that his opponents are endeavouring to injure his adherents as if repelled by the best spiritual qualities which an individual could possess.

12 He announces the solemn judgment of God upon it all especially reprobating those who deal treacherously against the mystical Kine that is the holy herds and people and apostrophising those who prefer the Grehma above the saving and sanctifying Asha and the Kingdom of the Lie demon above the Divine Khshathra.

13 He declares that Grehma an opposing chief desired that evil kingdom in the abode of the personified Hell. And he cannot refrain from adding that he also enviously desires to share in the holy apostleship. But as he severely rejoins the messenger of God will hold him afar from the sight of the (Divine) Righteousness. He can have no share in the Faith.

(Here it may be noticed that we have some data for presenting

the main features of the struggle. In several instances centring perhaps in the actual description of a battle in XLIV 15 16 we see traces of the closeness of the controversy. In XLIV 15 the two hosts seem to be closing in regular lines for the holy vows themselves. Here on the other hand we read of willing complaint or regretful desire while judicial blindness is referred to over and over again under various phrases. One might suppose that the Daêva party were very near the Zarathustrians in many of their religious peculiarities but that they could not accede to or understand the dualism. After the manner of Pagans they implicated the Gods in their sins (Compare the drunken Indra). At all events a bitter and violent war of doctrines was waging with both speech and weapons. I think it looks like the struggle of two parties who each claimed to be the proper representative of some similar form of faith similar, of course I mean outwardly.)

14 Deploring the establishment of the Kavis who approach with stratagems and false teachings to aid the opposing party the composer declares that they say that the Kine herself is to be injured instead of blessed by the very fire priest who kindles¹ the altar flame.

15 He supports himself however with the hope of ultimate success and with the prospect of his reward when he and his fellow labourers should be gloriously borne to heaven by Weal and Immortality the eternal two who not only as we see bear saints to bliss but also constitute the beatitude of heaven itself.

16 He confides all at last to Ahura, who is able to control all events and to solve all doubts and who will support his servants in bringing the wicked to vengeance by means of verbal instructions and commands.

Translation

(That rival monarch (thus we may supply the sense of lost verses) for whom some are plotting to secure the sovereignty and who once in power would deliver over home, village town, and province to ruin and to death², is active in his efforts and offer-

¹ See however the notes

² Compare XXXI 15 18

ing the devotions of his false religion to accomplish his ends) 1 His¹ lord-kinsman will pray² (as 1 Zarthustra prayed) and his labouring villagers, with his (trusted) peers and his (fellow) Daêva worshippers³ But in my mind is the friendship⁴ of Ahura Mazda, the Great Creator the living Lord and Thine heralds O Ahura¹ may we be may we hold back⁵ those who hate and who offend You¹

2 To these (for whom the prophet spake) Ahura Mazda answered ruling⁶ as He does through His Good Mind (within their souls) He replied from His Sovereign Power our good friend (as he is) through His surpassing⁷ Righteousness We have accepted

¹ Some prominent teacher representing the entire Daêva party is alluded to see verses 6 7 9 10

² Compare yasâ in XXVIII 2

³ Or his are the Daêvas but the verb yâsat perhaps affords a sufficient expression for Daêvâ yasen or hent⁶ may be understood We may also understand the Daêvas here as the embodied Daêvas in the manner in which the pious worshipper is called Vohu Manah That Daêva should however be used quite simply for Daeva-worshipper in this early composition is not probable In the later Avesta it is frequent usage

⁴ Or the friend I recoil as much as possible from abstracts but the Pahlavi nas hû ravakh manîh and Geldner admirably proposed brahman.

⁵ Afghân min Lekûm yakhsenunêm so the Pahlavi translation first venturing on the meaning holding back from dar in the sense of pâ which latte in Iranian can mean hold back from advantages as well as from misfortunes High modern authority coincides with the most ancient authority on this latter point It is apt to be a subject of scepticism with some who neglect the evidence of tradition

⁶ Pavan saidârih i Vohûman, Ner svâmîtâyâm* It seems difficult to apply the meaning 'being as a refuge here see the following from His Kingdom.

⁷ Lit. 'glorious This casts light upon the expression hvanvairis verezô

your good and bountiful Fiety and we have chosen her ours shall she be¹!

3 But you O ye Daevas¹ are all a seed from the Evil Mind² He who offers sacrifice³ to You the most⁴ is of the Lie demon and (he is a child) of perversion⁵ In advance⁶ (are your) deceits whereby ye are famed in the sevenfold⁷ earth!

4 For ye (are) confusing our thoughts⁸ whereby men giving forth the worst deeds will speak⁹ as of

¹ Aigh Spendarmaz⁷ Lekûm râi sapir dôshêm [bûndak mînu ni] zak i lanman aito [aighmâno pavan tanu mrahman yehevarâd]

Neryosangh To these the Great Wise (One) the Lord answered in the lordship or the highest (best) mind [that is if or since Gvahnana had arrived as a guest within (their) body] from Saburevara he answered [] through (their) righteousness from the well inclined and through good conduct [if truly good conduct had arrived as a guest within (their) body] And he said I be friend your Earth (so Ârimaiti was later understood) the perfect minded one and your highest one she is mine []

² Compare Yasna XXX 6 Where the Daevas are approached by the worst mind as they are consulting

³ As those who offer sacrifice to these Daêvas are mentioned separately we are forced to concede a large idea to the composer He addresses the Daêvas as poetically conceived to be present and not merely their worshippers as in verse 1 And this must have its weight in the exegesis of other passages

⁴ The Pahlav translator has kâbed Or mas for mashyo (?)

⁵ Or possibly arrogance avaiminîntar Ner apamarastarasâ

⁶ Satûnîned freely but indicating the root The word is a locative

⁷ The seven karshvars or quarters of the earth were already known

I correct fio me (=man) mathâ (adj nom pl compare yimâ keredusha and ma mashâ) I do so after the admirable reading of the Pahlavi translator as frâz minisnô varâînêd [aighas barâ frîfêd afas minisno barâ avô vinâs kardanô varâînêd] Nei pral risham manah—mathnâti Notice that aîstâ is awkward as a masc although I have so rendered as more personal

⁸ Vakhshyentê stood in the ancient writing used by the Pahlav translator is also now in some of our surviving MSS, otherwise

the Demon gods beloved forsaken by the Good Mind¹, (far) astray from the understanding of the Great Creator the Living Lord and (far astray) from His Righteousness¹

5 Therefore ye would² beguile mankind of happy life³ (upon earth) and of Immortality (beyond it) since the Evil Spirit (has ruled) you with his evil mind Yea he has ruled⁴ you (ye) who are of the Demon gods and with an evil word unto action as his ruler (governs) the wicked⁵!

reading vakhshenîê with Justi and most other and mîmatha with Bar holomae Ye have caused that men who produce the worst results are flourishing loved of the Daêvas (as they are) But in the Casuslehre Hubschmann preferred sie sprechen was den Devas angenehm ist also reading vakhshenîê (?) (page 240)

¹ So the Pahlavi also indicates aran Vohûman sîzd Ner Gvahrmanâh* dûre* âste

² Improper subjunctive otherwise ye (have) beguiled

³ The Pahlavi also freely *arîšêd anšûtan pavan hu zivîsnih*

⁴ *Frañiras* far from necessarily means gave assigned indicated renders it more closely The Pahlavi has here correctly but freely *arîšêd*

⁵ The Pahlavi has here *salitâih* for *khshayê* and in XXVIII 8 it has *pañakhshâ* for *khshayâ* I do not think that the word is an accusative there A simple accusative does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gâthic it is generally in apposition when so situated The nominatives tend toward the end of the sentence

⁶ Ner It is through both of these that he is deceiving (sic unable to follow the Pahlavi which probably renders as a second plural see *mûn lekum*) mankind in regard to prosperity and immortality [(saying) if it is possible to live immortality lies in our path] Since he is yours O ye base minded! O ye base Devas! he is inculcating the lowest actions [] of the miscreants he says that sovereignty [is from Aharmâna (that is the sovereignty) of certain ones (meaning over every one)]

The Gâthic verbatim is as follows Therefore ye beguiled (would beguile) man of happy life of immortality and since you with evil mind (you) who (are) and Daêvas (worshippers) the evil and spirit with an evil (word as concerning) action with word (rules) by

6 Full of crime (your leader) has desired to destroy¹ us wherefore he is famed (and his doctrine is declared) but if this be so of these then in the same manner O Ahura¹ Thou possessest² (because Thou knowest) the true (teachings) in Thy memory³ And in Thy kingdom and Thy Righteous Order I will establish Thy precepts (in Thy name)⁴

7 Among these wretched beings (th's their leader⁵) knows not that those things⁷ which are de

which (same) means (has) commanded the wicked (his) ruler (nom sing masc see Y XXVIII 8) The nom, as in Vedic at the end

¹ Or, Full of crime ye have striven to attain your ends (?) by those things which a e reported (If verse 5 originally preceded) enakhstâ would naturally be regarded as a singular as paouru aēnao is an impossible plural masculine It might however be a singular used collectively In that case we could put the verb in the plu al with verse 5 in view As to concrete or abstract, the first is obviously correct and is also so rendered by the Pahlavi translation

² Vid (with the perf vaedâ) seems to occur in the Gathas in this sense Or Thou knowest with the Best Mind

³ Or in the memorised recital Ner prakāsam kalayati

⁴ Parsi persian MS Bisyâr kinah varzandah kinah hwâhad [kûs wanah kârân pâdafran kunêd] kih guft + srûd is êd [kih guft istêd] kû kih oran oi sumâr [kû pâdafrâh pah an zaman tamâm bih kunand kin ruwân baz an tan dehad] Zâhir surrâr-kunandah Hormuzd [kû pah wanah wa kirfah sumai kunand] wân : buland agâh pah Bahman [muzd dânad kû ân kih ba,ad dâdan] Pah ân : Tu : Suma, Hôrmuzd! hudâ, ân : Sawâb âmûhtan bih dânestuwan (sic vid) [kih Sumâ padisahî tamâm bih bēd + ya hni + barad har kas pah nêk agah bih bârad]

⁵ The Pahlavi has kinikâno

⁶ The *hvaētu* of the first verse the *dussasti* of the ninth, &c

⁷ The Pahlavi curiously errs with his *rôshanô* = clear Nei parishphuātarañ It would be straining a point to call him free in interpreting what is collected and so obvious as clear We must however never forget that the supposed error of the Pahlavi is sometimes the reflex of our own (often necessary) ignorance *Vîdvau* must refer back to the same subject as anyâ in the first verse or possibly to Aka Manah going a step furth r back.

clared as victorious¹ (by his allies) are bound together for the smiting yea those things by which he was famed (as victorious) by his (blade of) glittering iron² But the utter destruction³ of those things Thou, O Ahura Mazda¹ knowest⁴ most surely⁵!

8 Of these wretched beings⁶ Yima Vivanghusha was famed to be, he who desiring to content⁷ our men was eating kine's flesh in its pieces But from⁸ (such as) these O Ahura Mazda¹ in Thy discerning discrimination am I (to be seen as distinct⁹)

¹ Possibly which are by Thee announced as destined and proper to be smitten The Pahlavi has *mûn zanisno âmûkhtend* (sic) *Jôyâ=jâyâ* to *jan* as *âkâya* is to *kan*

² Compare other allusions to weapons *snaithrâ* and possibly *dakhshtem*

³ So also the Pahlavi *ristak* and *padâf âs*

⁴ *Naêh/ vîdvau* and *vaedisto ahî* are in antithesis and emphatic

⁵ A literal rendering of this difficult verse would be as follows Of these wretches nothing knowing (is he that) for the smiting (dat *ja jan* cp form *Sk jâ jan*) (are) the-collected things which things (as) victorious (read *jayâ*) are declared forth by which (things) he has been heard (of) through glittering iron of which things Thou O Ahura! the ruin O Mazda¹ most knowing art Others take *senghaitê* in the sense of cut (?) and render very differently

⁶ The Pahlavi has *shedâân*, *Ner tân dveshînaz*

⁷ Or teaching so the Pahlavi *Ner samasvâdavati*

⁸ The Pahlavi translator hits the true rendering here from among these I am chosen out by Thee Otherwise we have a question Am I of these? The allusion is to the fall of Yima As to the first eating of the flesh of beasts recall Genesis ix 3 Some have rendered With regard to these I am of Thine opinion O Mazda (?)

⁹ The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows Among (of) these demons Yima of the *Vivanzhânas* is famed to have been a wicked scourge It was he who taught men thus Eat ye our flesh in pieces [wide as the breast long as the arm—(or better with West in lapfuls and armfuls)] From among these [] I am chosen out by Thee O Aûharmazd! hereafter [that is, even by Thee I am considered as good]

9 An evil teacher (as that leader is) he will destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) understanding of life seizing away² (from me) my riches³ the choice and real wealth of (Thy) Good Mind To You and to Asha O Ahura Mazda¹ am I therefore crying with the voice of my spirits⁴ (need)¹

10 Aye this man will destroy my doctrines (indeed for he blasphemes the highest of creatures that live or are made) He declares that the (sacred) Kine⁵ and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see and he will offer the gifts of the wicked (as priest to their Demon gods) And at the last he will parch⁶ our meadows with drought and will hurl his mace at Thy saint (who may fall before his arms)

¹ An improper subjunctive Otherwise He (has) destroyed (not irretrievably of course the case was not decided and finally issued favourably)

² Apô—yantâ otherwise they would ake Ner apaharati

³ Zak ī h īshtī avōrtō [—kīvāstak ī pavan dastōbar]

⁴ Pavan valmansan milayâ minavadīhâ Ner vâgbhū mā nasavritīyâ aham—akrandaye (not following our present Pahlavi text the gloss however) Observe that in reading Ner we by no means ipso facto read the Pahlavi either in correct translation or as following our texts Compare XLVI 2

⁵ One thinks somewhat of the familiar foes of the Vedic kine but there can be of course no connection The Iranian sacred Cow did not represent the rain cloud at least not at all directly

⁶ Read viyapaś as a demon without sign v was miswritten for y as often y for v The Pahlavi language not to speak of the Pahlavi translation suggests it How are we to account for the word viyāvânīnêd? We should not arrest our philology at the Zend and Sanskrit The long vowel is most awkward for a comparison with the Indian vap=shear And I think that destroying the means of irrigation gives as good a meaning as snearing the land Notice that elsewhere a more correct form appears vîpôtēmēm (Vd III 15 (51 Sp))=viyapôtēmēm

⁷ Lately he will discharge his club at the righteous

11 Yea these will destroy my life for they consult with the great¹ of the wicked (enlightening themselves by their words²) And they are seizing away³ the gifts of inherited treasures⁴ from both household lord and from house wife (wretched men that they are) and those who will fiercely wound (my folk repelled and in no way kindly moved) by the better mind of the holy⁵

12 (But Ahura will speak His rebuke for) as to those doctrines which (such) men may be (basely) delivering⁷ (repelled) by the holiest action (and galled⁸ by its sacred truth) God hath said Evil (are they! Yea, unto these He hath said it) who have slain the Kine's life by a blessing (and have cursed her while they offered to help her⁹) men by whom Grēhmas are loved above Righteousness and the Karpans

¹ The Pahlavi translator erroneous or free as to *kikōiteres* indicates the proper sense of *mazibis* by *pavan masai* [—*pavan pēshpāyih va pāspāyih*—] but *Neryōsangh*, *mahattayā purah sarataya*

² Comp XXXI 12 there high his voice lifts the truthful or lay

³ Literally he takes

⁴ *Riknah vindisno*

⁵ *Kadāk khudāi gab ā nermar*

⁶ *Reshmēnd* see V 10 The ablative of he cause comp *ashāt hašā* otherwise with *Hubschm* Sie die Sch den nehmen mogen durch den besten he ligen Geist O Mazda! (*Casuslehre* s 241)

⁷ The Pahlavi translator had probably before him a text reading *rashayen* he renders freely *rēsh siāyend* With such a text which is far preferable to the one afforded by the MSS we may read Whereby (*yéna*) men will be opposing and retarding (literally wounding) the doctrines which (are derived) from the best (moral and ceremonial) action but to these men Mazda declared Evil (are ye) See the previous verse

⁸ See the previous verse

The Pahlavi has *hū avakh iranīh yemalēlūd*

and the Throne of those who have wished¹ for the Demon of lies (as their deity and friend²)

13 And the Grehma will seek³ for these things by means of his (evil) kingdom⁴ in the abode of (Hell which is⁵) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers of life and who O Mazda! will bewail⁶ with glad but (envious) wish the message of Thy prophet (But he will not abate with his vengeance) he will hold them afar from the sight⁷ of the truth¹

14 His is Grehma⁸ aye his¹ And to (oppose) Thee⁹ he will establish the Kavs and (their) scheming

¹ So also indicated by the Pahlavi *bavîhûnd*

There is elsewhere evidence enough of a desire to encroach upon the truth

² So also indicated by *bavîhûnêd*

⁴ Or which kingdoms sovereign power

⁵ Comp XXX 6

⁶ Or they gladly complain so also the Pahlavi *Mûn—gar zisno kâmak* The singular *gar zisno* is difficult with *jaêkâ* Many would alter the text at once and the temptation is great

⁷ Hubschm *ye fš pŕ dresaz ashahyŕ der sie alhhalte vom Schauen des Asha* (Caus 241) So of XLVI 4 So also indicated by *pŕzênd min nŕzêzno f Aharayih* evidence of a struggle or at least of a desire on the part of a rival party to possess themselves of some religious privilege or precedence See the previous verse also XXXI 10 Never O Mazda! never shall the thriftless and thieving one share the good doctrine See still further XLIV 15 where the two hosts meet in hostility on account of the doctrinal vows

⁸ Grehma appertains to but is not the particular evil teacher referred to throughout The Pahlavi translator indicates bribery as the meaning of the word Possibly some impious chieftain is meant whose procedure was of that nature The word occurs in the plural

⁹ A hoŕ Thwôŕ is difficult Or (see Y XLIV 14) Thine understanding has subdued the Kavis The Pahlavi translator renders *masih* as if he had read *ahuthwoŕ* offering an important alternative

plans Their deeds of power are but deceits since they have come as an aid to the wicked², and since he has been (falsely) said (to be set) to conquer the Kine³ he who shall kindle that (very) help of grace which removes our death afar (and lightens Thy saving flame)

15 And therefore will I drive from hence⁴ the Karpans and Kavis disciples And after these (have thus been driven hence and away) then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers at will over life (and deprive of their absolute power) these shall be borne (at

Read In his dominion he has established the Kavis and their intended plans Reading *nôitnôr* his C is to be bound

The predecessors of the Pahlavi translator seem to have understood the word *var(e)kau* as conveying the idea of power rather than that of brilliancy He renders freely *pavan zaḥ i va zānan avarūno danākāno* Supposing the text to stand and not supplying a formation from *var(e)z* we may hold that there existed a *var(e)k* beside *var(e)z* as there undoubtedly was a *har(e)k* (see *hareke*) beside *har(e)z* This casts light on the Vedic *várkas*

Amatiḥ paṣtind valman darvandān aivāṛt [] amatiḥ avō Tōra zanisnō gūftō The sufferings of the sacred Kine form the central thought of much that occurs

² Can *gāus* be a genitive here? But if a nominative must not yet refer to it? How then could the Kine kindle the aid of grace? A genitive looks difficult It is however accepted by Spiegel although he renders differently from my translation The Pahlavi may give us invaluable relief here by restoring the text The ancient translator read *saokaya* Reading with him we might render When the Kine which (*yā*?) caused a death removing help to be declared was said to be meet for subjection (or slaying reading an infinitive from *gan*) This rendering is more probable than that from *saokaya* The Kine distinctly caused this help to be declared See XXIX But I make it a matter of principle to follow the MSS in a first translation where that is at all possible

⁴ The Pahlavi translator differs greatly here having taken *anāis* with adverbial force and as possessing the *a prāv* (they being

last) by the (immortal¹) two to the home of (Thy) Good Mind (in Heaven) ¹

16 (And) this entire³ (reward of the righteous) is from that Best One who teaches⁴ in the wide (menta¹) light of the pious⁵ ruling (as supreme) O Mazda Ahura⁶ whose are my woes and my doubt-

not inclined) He also read somewhat as follows *anaiz avaēni* (?) as *ye*=from his non inclination he was blind who (belongs to the Karpan and to the Kavi) Whether a true text is indicated by him here is doubtful on account of XLIV 13 and its *nāshāmā* but the unvarying explanation of the Kavis as blind probably derives its origin from some such reading here or elsewhere in lost documents

Certainly if *āiz* can be used as a particle *anaiz* is not a together impossible in some such sense Moreover the Pahlavi translation here and elsewhere has afforded us such a multitude of valuable concretes that we shall do well to think twice before we reject its most startling suggestions It is true what (things are) of the K

¹ The Pahlavi translation gives a fine suggestion in the concrete sense here seeing the dual *ābyā* it explains it as referring to *Haurvata* and *Ameretata* which is very probably correct So Spiegel also renders It is very difficult to decide in which sense *yeng dainti nōi* *gyāteur khshayamaneng vaso* is to be taken If in an evil sense (as *vase khshayant* is sometimes elsewhere taken) one might think of such a rendering as this I have driven the Karpans and Kavis disciples hence to those (evil rulers) whom they (my servants) render no longer wanton tyrants over life But these (my champion saints) shall be borne by the two to the home of Thy Good Mind But strict grammar demands of us that too should refer back to *yeng* Accordingly I suggest as above first

² Observe that *Vonu Manah* equals heaven Recall XXX, 4 but for the holy *Vahista Manah* that is heaven

³ The Pahlavi has *ham*, Neryosangh has *sarvam*

⁴ Reading *sâk(a)yaski* (^{P¹¹} *sāyasāki* Pahlavi *āmukhtisno* (sic) *Nei sikshapazam*) Otherwise *syaski* which may well mean lying, reposing in the wide (mental) light of the pious (or of the offering) Geldner lately admirably suggests a and sg

Pavan *farākhū hushih*

⁵ If this best one is the Ratu of XXXIII, 1, all is grammatically clear but the expressions are rather strong in view of

ings¹ (yea they lie in His power to heal) when I shall make (my prophets) men to be sought² for the harm of the wicked And this I shall do by the word of my mouth (to defend and avenge my saints) !

XLVIII 9 where similar language is certainly applied to Ahura If Ahura is here meant we have only one instance more to add to the many in which Ahura is spoken of in the third person with an address to Him thrown in See the differing views of XLV 11 Possibly the Best One was Anura's Spenta Mainyu

¹ Zak i pavan gumanihih As to âthi athivant seems to prove that its meaning must be calamity also in this place Otherwise one is strongly tempted to heed the vigorous indication of the Pahlavi translator Here and in XLVIII 9 he renders manifest what is clear in the midst of my doubt The etymology would be far simpler Alternatively dvaêthâ=terror (b)

² Valman i pûmman khvastâr The Pahlavi sees to be desired in *ishyeng* Otherwise one might render I will cause (verbal) missiles (comp *zastâ istâs*) to be cast forth from the mouth for the harm of the wicked

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE Parch with drought in verse 10 may be regarded as having figurative application The destruction of the means of irrigation so often resorted to in the same regions later would point also to a literal sense but waste our meadows like drought is a safer expression See further *vivâpaŕ* and *vivâpem*=*viyâpaŕ viyapem*)

YASNA XXXII

PRAYERS, HOPES AND SELF CONSECRATION

Higher times seem to have arrived. The vengeance so confidently promised in the case of XXXII is described as near at hand. In fact the first three verses seem to belong as much to XXXII as to the present chapter. They remind one of the choruses of attending saints, or Immortals in XXIX perfectly germane to the connection but referring in the third person to a speaker who closes the last chapter with a first and who begins again with a first in verse 4. The propriety of a division of chapters here rests upon the fact that the thought comes to a climax at XXXII 16 beginning afresh at XXXIII 4. Whether Zarathustra or the chief composer whatever his name may have been composed these three verses elating as they do to himself and put them into the mouth of another or whether their grammatical form indicates another author is difficult to determine. I doubt very greatly whether either the expressions I approach I offer &c or the words he will act let him be in Asha's pastures are at all meant to express more than some modern hymns which use I and he. Both are in constant employment in an anthology with no change in the person indicated. I and Thy servant are merely verbal variations. Here however the change is somewhat marked by the allusion to the chastisement of the wicked just previously mentioned in XXXII 16 1. It is to be noticed that the strictest canon with the original as indeed with the later Zarathustrians of the Avesta was the primeval law. Unquestionably the precepts understood as following from the dualistic principle were intended that is to say no trifling with any form of evil least of all with a foreign creed was to be tolerated. Anura has no share in the evolution of anything corrupt. We may even add that He had no power to prevent either sin or sorrow although He possessed all conceivable power to oppose them. According to these fundamental laws then the Ratu is said to act as sternly severe upon the evil as he is beneficent to the saint 2. The fierce hostilities hitherto pursued are more than justified. The injury of the wicked by denouncing planning or by physical violence is on a par with advising the good. They who pursue the enemies of Ahura are actually operating in love to God and sacrificing to religion itself.

3 And accordingly the reciter made to pray in this immediate connection for a sincere and useful friend (a *vanista*) to the believer to whichever class he may belong whether chief allied peer or villager a friend spiritually enlightened (*vidās*) and according to Ahura's prescript (XXIX 2) keen pe severing and brave in the cultivation of cattle (*thwakhshangnâ gavôî*) Let such an one as thus so asked for by the Lord himself so needed by the King let him he prays be supported in his holy toil for us Let him till and tend not in the pastures of our valleys only but in the spiritual pastures of the Divine Benevolence where the mystic line is grazing

4 Taking up the peculiar *I who* of XXVIII the composer returns to the first person continuing in that form with little exception until the last verse which naming Zarathustra in the third person implies (if it is not an addition which however it may be) that Zarathustra had been the speaker throughout As it is highly probable that the author who uses this *I who* is the same who uses it in XXVIII and if we may take verse 14 as fair evidence that Zarathustra is the speaker here we acquire some additional grounds for believing that the person who wrote (if we can apply such an expression to the author) the words to Zarathustra and to us as well as to Vistâspa and to me and to Frahastra and to me was universally recognised to be Zarathustra himself composing a piece to be recited by another As in response to the expression in verse 3 recalling that although a *vahistr* (a best one) to some of each class (verse 1) he was no content of the wicked (XLIII 15) he begins a prayer which is only completed by its *izyâ* in verse 6 and which gathers force by each preceding profession of fidelity And true to a practical dualism he first abjures the leading sin of disobedience to God and of arrogance discontent and dishonesty toward *mañ* accompanied (as it seems to have been) with neglect of the all important duties to the cattle who shared the sanctity of the soul of their representative And perhaps it is this practical severity of dualism as opposed to the more facile lying of the opposed religion which was the cause of that high reputation of the Persians for veracity which was grouped with avoiding debt by Herodotus among the virtues of the race

5 I he goes on to say or to imply *I who* not only abjure disobedience insolence complaint and lying but especially invoke the great genius who is Obedience himself Obedience toward God (Thee) endeavouring as I do by this abjuration and prayer to attain not to a hundred autumns of booty and glory but to a long life in the kingdom which was established in the spirit of

the Divine Benevolence and to paths not only for the war cart or for commerce but to those rigidly straight paths of moral purity in which Ahura dwells. O I he adds once more who am true Thine actually invoking (zbaya) invoker straight like the paths (erezus) I am seeking with longing (kaja) to draw from that Best Spirit (Thy Spenta Mainyu?) animated once more by that best mind to know what? Shall we regard it as a bathos when we read that he thus with cumulative urgency pays to know what the Best Spirit thought should be done for the recovery and perfection of the fields? If we turn back to XXIX we shall see that the identical word (vâstryâ) describes the original want of the king's soul. It was vohû vâstryâ which she implored as her salvation and it was the sacred agriculturist who alone could afford it and who as the diligent tiller of the earth always remained the typical saint. And as his useful deeds in reclaiming, irrigating and cultivating land were usually ranked among the first services of a human being and as the last preparation of the gathered grain was perhaps humorously but yet pungently said to make the Daêvas start and shriek and fly (see Vendidad III 32, Sp 165) and as further a life from the fruits of the earth to this day constitutes the main difference between those who live by murderous theft and those who live honestly in nearly the same regions I think we may not only see no bathos here but on the contrary admire the robust sense of this early religion¹ and say that a knowledge as to a true policy in the department of agriculture was one of the wisest possible desires and the most of all things worthy of a sight of Mazda and of consultation with Him. How the fields had better be worked and how the people could best be kept from bloody freebooting as aggressors or as victims his involved Anuras Righteous Order Benevolence Power and Piety the our energising Immortals all at once. And this only could secure the other two rewarding personifications Welfare and Immortality.

7 Having prayed for this which is the first virtue of civilised existence work (verezyeidva) he proceeds to further petitions. 'Come Ye' he beseeches in Vedic fashion. 'Come Ye O Ahura Asha and Vohu Manah! and behold the attentive monarch, the leading Magavan as he listens to my instructions with the other

In this particular A. to ceremonies it had at a later period more than its share of absurdities but as to honest work as against foraging on the enemy there is a great difference between the Gathas and some other ancient hymns for instance the *Rîks* of the Veda. In fact these latter may be regarded as representing the opposite extreme.

chiefs and the thronging masses And let too the sacrificial gifts pour in for offering and worship

8 He rests at no bare moral ty for the simple multitude He knows too well the human foible therefore he asks with vigour for sacrifice and hymn

9 Encouraging the two pious chiefs whose souls go hand in hand he prays that an influence like that of the eternal two might bear their spirit (sic) to the shining home of Paradise it having attained to perfection by the help of the Best Mind of God within it (For manyu 7 this se se compare XLIV 11)

10 Asking of Mazda to grant in His love (or by His will) all the happy phases of life which have been or which shall ever be experienced he prays that their bodies that is their persons as separate accountable individuals (compare narem narem *hvahtu tanuyê*) might flourish in the graces of the Good Mind the Holy Sovereignty and the Sacred Order till they were blessed with the *ustâ* the summum bonum

11 He here prays all the grand abstractions Piety the Righteous Order (which alone can pass on the settlements) the Good Mind of God within His people and His kingdom to turn their mental ears and listen and listening to pardon

12 And specifying the one central object of desire the Thrift law the Avesta of the Ratu or Saoshyant, he asks Ahura to arise to his help and give him spiritual strength by sustaining him through the inspiring Righteousness and the Good Mind in an effective invocation

13 With a spirituality still deeper than his Semitic colleague he asks not to see the person of God but His nature and especially to be able to comprehend and bring home to his mind what the Sovereignty of God implies with its blessed rewards And he asks of Piety as first acquired practised and then speaking within him to reveal the Gnosis the Insight that is the Religion

14 After the fervent language of the previous verses we may accept verse 14 as a legitimate continuation Its 'Zarathustra may mean I just as David is used by the Psalmist for me And the language can mean nothing but a dedication of all that he is and has to God his flesh his body his religious eminence the obedience which he offers in word and deed inspired by Righteousness and the Kingdom which he has succeeded in saving and blessing (I do not think that I have at all exaggerated the grasp and fervour of this section Less could not be said if the words are to be allowed their natural weight)

Translation

1 As by the laws of the primeval world so will our spiritual chieftain act (that chief besought for by the Kine¹ and named as Zarathustra² by the Lord) Deeds most just he will do toward the wicked as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of fraud³ and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure)

2 Yea (he will act with justice but with vengeance for) he who does evil to the wicked by word or with thought (and plan) and (who therein does not dally, but toils labouring as) with both the hands, or he (again) who admonishes one for his good⁴ such as these are offering (a gift) to their religious⁵ faith in the love (and with the approving view) of Ahura Mazda⁶ (they are offering to conscience)

¹ See XXIX 1

² See XXIX 6 8

³ So the Pahl., and so also Roth (Z D M G vol xxxvii 5 223) taking *mithahya* as a nom pl (comp *vaśahya*) But I am strongly inclined to a former view of my own *Yēhya mithahyā* look irresistibly like two genitives I would render as an emphatic alternative what fraud he may lay hold of (*hem-yāsaūtē* with the gen.) reach (of the one) and what (seem) to him the righteous deeds (of the other) But if Roth and the Pahlav. are right we have here the origin of the later *hamēstīgū* the souls in the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell whose sins and good works have been equal (West Gloss to M 1 K) The Persian manuscript of Haug 12 b has *Kih išk (pro ham) ū i ān ham rasid ēstēd ān i durūgā, kih išk (ham) u an : hālis [lū hamēstān]*

⁴ So the Pahlavi also indicates *Val valman i sapu — kashin Ner uttamasya vā āsvādayanti dehman*

⁵ Literally they are offering a gift to their own choice (*var = varena* comp *yāvarenā*)

⁶ They are holding fast by the holy cause and their vehemence in vengeance does not negative the fact that they are toiling in the love of Ahura. Pahlavi *Pavan zak ī lak dōsh snō A harmazd ī*

3 (And so may it be) O Ahura¹ Let the man who is the best toward the righteous saint whether lord's kinsman² or as village labourer with the allied³ peer (of the master) having light, and endowed with energy for the cattle (a Ratu such as Ahura sought to satisfy their wail) let such an one be (for us)⁴ in the work-field of the Righteous Order in the pastures of Thy Good Mind⁴

4 (And I beseech for Thine instruction) I who will abjure all disobedience (toward Thee, praying that others likewise may withhold it) from Thee I who abjure the Evil Mind as well the lordly kinsman's arrogance⁵ and that lying sin which is (alas!) the next thing to the people⁷ (their most familiar fault) and the blaming ally's falsehood and from the Kine the worst care of her meadows⁸ (the crime of stint in labour⁹)

¹ Literally, with or as the kinsman

² With the true ally

³ See XXIX 2 Let that pasture giver whom ye would appoint for us teaching by example and precept: *vohū vāstryā* let him be on our sacred pastures and on our side

⁴ The Pahlav may be rendered as follows He who affords increase to the righteous on account of the relationship [that is something is given 'to him?'] does so also on account of the labourer's duty o class [that is the labourer is to be considered as his own] Through the loyalty that is the loyal class that which adheres to Aθharmazd he has a thorough understanding as to what is (true) energy toward the herds Thus Vohuman (a good mind) is a workman with him to whom Righteousness also belongs

⁵ Hübschm Casuslehre der ich von dir den Ungehorsam und schlechten Sinn durch Gebet abwenden will (s 180)

⁶ Observe that *hvaetu* certainly designates an upper class Why else arrogance?

⁷ Possibly this severity was the cause of the later high reputation of the Zarathustrians for veracity

⁸ Literally from the pasture of the Kine

⁹ The Pahlavi may be rendered Him who will not listen to

5 I who (abjuring these sins) call earnestly on Thine Obedience of all (assisting guardians) the greatest one for our help¹ gaining (thereby²) long life in the Realm of (Thy) Good Mind (incarnate in our tribes) and paths that are straight from their Righteous Order wherein Ahura Mazda dwells³

6 (Yea) I who as this Thy faithful priest invoke Thee through (my) Righteousness (now) seek⁴ with longing from (Thy) Best Spirit and with that⁵ (best) intention of mind (to know) what⁶ he himself thought of the working of (our) fields⁷ Therefore (because I abjure the Evil Mind and all disobedience

Thee O Auaharmazd¹ will I abjure and Akoman also for by him there is the despising of relations and the deception of the labouring men who live close at hand [that is of neighbours] And he is ever bringing censure upon the clients And he holds to the lowest measure of duty toward the Herd

¹ Avanghâ *ne* or avanghanê an infinitive (see Wilhelm de Infi p 16) The Pahlavi has *avo ayyarih*

² Sraosha (=listening obedience) is the greatest for help because by a Mathra which appeals to him the way to Ahura is found out (XXVIII 6) and the Demon defeated If *apânô* is read so strictly The Pahlavi translator seems to have understood *apâ ne barâm ayâfinâs pavan dêr zivisnih zâk i pavan khûdâyih i Vohuman*

Nei Avâpaya dirghe gîvitatve This may well restore for us the proper text Reading *apa ne* we should render obtain for us

³ Ahura Mazda dwells as in His abode amid the paths where His saints walk (see XLVI 16)

⁴ So also indicated by *bavîhûnêd* *Kayâ* properly refers to *ye*

⁵ The Pahlavi translator seems to have seen an imperative in *avâ* rendering it freely *ayyarînêdō*

⁶ *Yâ* may be an instr sing or an acc pl neut I ask what he thought meet to be done *yâ* does not necessarily equal *yena* in every instance

⁷ I need hardly remind the reader that agriculture was the great question of orderly and religious life with the Zarathustrians Without it there was of course no resource but wandering and plunder for them

arrogance falsehood) O Mazda would I beseech
 61 Thee for a sight of Thee and for consultation
 with Thee! (What is Thy will and mind?)

7 Come Ye then to my best (regulations
 Come to my men and my laws¹) my very own O
 Mazda! and let them see through the Righteous
 Order and (Thy) Good Mind (which Thou wilt
 bestow in Thy drawing near) how I am heard before
 the rich giver² (in the assembly of Thy worshippers)
 Yea (come Ye), and let the manifold offerings of
 worship be manifest among us³ (Arouse Ye and
 help our zeal⁴!)

¹ So I render from the context. Otherwise see *tâ tô izya* in the previous verse.

² I was formerly inclined to understand Ahura here Indian usage permitting (Indra and other Gods are *maghavan*) But modern authority aided by the ancient Pahlavi translator brings me to a better mind. The Pahlavi has *pavan fravon mag h*. It is better to refer the word to the disciple. The more prominent members of the congregation are meant.

³ Ner renders the last line thus. And may these offerings be manifest in the midst of us and accompanied with (sincerest) worship.

There are certain cases where allowance for an ancient scholar working under great disadvantages becomes a critical necessity. Here the Pahlavi translator was clearly the victim of a manuscript. The word *âdûm* (sic) stood as similar words so often stand in his MS as *âi dûm*. Deeply imbued with a superstitious regard for every letter and with a public equally scrupulous, he saw no course before him but to translate each as best he could. He chose to render *âi* by an infinitive preserving the root and could only think of a form of *da* for *dûm* (so also moderns in another case). Many writers seeing such a step cast away his paper regarding themselves as absolved by such a blunder from mastering his translations. But a little honest labour will always bring one back to sounder exegesis. In the next following verse we have identically the same form in another word which he renders awkwardly but correctly using *dâ* again but as a proper auxiliary

8 (Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind the offering O Mazda! of the One like You¹ or the words of praises offered with Righteousness And give Ye as Your offering (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare¹

9 And let (one like those³) O Mazda! bear on to Thee the spirit of the two leaders who cause the holy ritual Truth to flourish let him⁴ bear them to (Thy) brilliant home⁵ with⁶ preternatural insight and with the Better Mind Yea let him bear that spirit on as a fellow help⁷ in (furthering) the reach

¹ To approach the offering of a prayer seems certainly an unnatural expression I think that we are obliged to regard *khshmvato* as another way of saying Yourself rather than or Yours and if it equals Yourself here it may elsewhere see XXXIV 2 *khshmvato vahmê* also XLIV 1 *nemê khshmvato* All acknowledge *mavaitê* to mean to me Hubschmann *Causlehre* s 200 *dass ich mit frommem sinne an eure Verehrung Mazda gehen kann*

² It is curious that *draonô* seems to be in apposition here The word is used merely in the sense of offering in the later Avesta It might possibly mean possessions here

³ See XXXII 15 There helping princes are spoken of as borne by the two (Haurvata and Ameretata) Here in immediate connection with the same two it is said Let one bear the spirit of the two united chiefs By the term spirit which sounds so suspiciously modern we must nevertheless understand very nearly what the word would mean in a modern phrase By these two leaders we may understand either Gâmâspa and Vîstaspa (XLIX 9) or Gâmâspa and Frashaostra (Compare *yavaren Frashaostrâ Gamaspâ*)

⁴ Let one bear them

Khvârih mâninisnô

⁵ The Pahlavi gives its evidence for an instrumental and for a less pronounced meaning than the one above

Hamkardârih If the second *kar* is the root the sense is figurative

ness¹ of those (in their holy work) whose souls go hand in hand

o (And not for these alone do I pray but for us² as well) All prosperous states³ in being which have been enjoyed in the past which men are now enjoying and which shall be known in the future do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love⁴ (Yea) cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation⁵ through (Thy) Good Mind, (Thy) Sovereign Power and (Thy) Sanctity⁷

II And O Thou who art the most beneficent Ahura Mazda¹ and thou who art Âramaiti (our piety) and also the Righteous Order who dost further on the settlements and Thou the Good Mind and the Sovereign Power¹ hear ye me all and have mercy⁸ for every deed which I do what soever⁹!

¹ Bândako

² Pavan akvino rûbâno

³ So more probably See the first person in verses 8 and 11

⁴ So the Pahlavi also hu zivisnih

⁵ So the Pahlavi also Pavan hanâ i lak dôshisno In Thy will is here very weak

⁶ Nadukihîê i avo tanu [arr yehabun] Ner subham tanau

⁷ Neryosangh Let them continue to live well and be prosperous in all things [] those females (yâh most curiously) who are born thus [that is come from elsewhere (and not from us)] and who are [gained over by myself] Those O Great Wise One! who shall exist [(or) come in the future] let them render these persons thine own though friendship to thee Cause thou the Best Mind to increase within me O Lord! [that is make my mind ever the more piously zealous] And in view of my righteousness grant me a benefit in my body or person []

So the Pahlavi also Am bara amurzêd

⁸ Observe that all the Ameshospends except the two mentioned in verse 8 are here bidden as persons to listen and be merciful These recurring instances (recall the two hands of Asha &c) necessitate the view that the idea of personality is never lost in that

12 And Thou O Ahura! do Thou (Thyself) arise¹ to me! Through Âramaiti give me power O most bountiful Spirit Mazda! through (my) faithful appeals and offerings and for (my) Righteousness grant me mighty strength and (Thy) thrift law³ through (Thy) Good Mind⁴

13 (Arise to give me power) and then for grace in a wide perception⁵ (that I may view its depth and extent) do Thou reveal to me Thy⁶ nature (?), O Ahura! (the power of Thine attributes) and those of Thy (holy) kingdom and by these the blessed gifts⁷ of (Thy) Good Mind! And so Thou O bountiful Piety⁸ show forth the religious truths through (Thy) Righteous Order

of the abstract quality and vice versâ (the latter especially in the Gathas where the names always retain much if not all of their original force) As to âdâi see vanghuyâ (sic) zavô âdâ in the next verse

¹ We seem obliged to suppose that Ahura was poetically conceived of as sitting (like Vohuman in Vendidad XIX 31 (Wg)) upon an ornamented throne or we may take the expression as pure metaphor equalling exert Thy power Âramaiti may be a voc

² See adâ in verse 11

³ Pavan zak î Vontûman sardarîh The thrift law is the regulation established by the Ratu demanded in Y XXIX for the redemption of the Kine It expresses the entire polity and theology of the Zarathustrian people as summed up in the original Avesta

⁴ Neryosangh Up! O Lord! purify me [that is make me pure or free from the influence of that tormentor the Evil Mind] and grant me perfect spirituality and zeal For we are recipients of Gvahmana O more mighty spirit [that is, let him be as a guest arrived within my body]! And let sanctity have power over the murderer (?) [] and through the lordship of the Best Mind

⁵ The Pahlavi has here pavan kâmak kâshisno on which see Darmesteter *Études Iraniennes*, vol II as per index.

⁶ Literally Your

⁷ Ashi has this meaning in the later Avesta It also means sacred regularity exactness in religious duties

⁸ So the Pahlavi also As pavan Aharâyîh dînô frâz dakh

14 Thus as an offering Zarathustra gives the life¹ of his very body And he offers likewise O Mazda¹ the priority of the Good Mind (his eminence gained) by his holiness (with Thy folk) and he offers (above all his) Obedience (to Thee) in deed and in speech and with these (Thine established) Sovereign Power¹

shakino Ner Pusyenā dirim prāhnaŋa Possibly give light to our consciences through Asha would be better

The tissues the word seems contrasted with bones elsewhere The Pahlavi has khayā and Ner givam (sic)

² The Pahlavi translation may be rendered as follows Thus as a gift of generosity I who am Zartust (so freely and with no error from ignorance (1)) give the life of my own body as the advance [is the chieftainship] to Vohūman and to Aōharmazd and to Asha vahist in actions [that is I would do the deeds which Aharayih desires] and would give obedient attention to the word (literally he hearing o the word) o (1 e of) Khshatravei

YASNA XXXIV

1 A tone of thankfulness continues. As if in gratitude for better fortunes the prophet declares that he will bestow upon Ahura with the foremost according to the measure of the gifts which he has received. Those gifts were the secured Immortality (not mere temporal deathlessness) the Righteous Order and the Sovereign Power established in holiness and bestowing the Universal Weal.

2 The kind of gifts which are proposed for offerings are not sacrificial beasts or fruits but the actions of the truly pious citizen whose soul is intimately united with Righteousness the homage of prayer and the songs of praise. As no piety could exist without strict ecclesiastical regularity, so no ceremonial punctuality was conceived of apart from honour and charity (see verse 5 and Yast XXII).

3 Accordingly the meat offering the mention of which immediately follows is spoken of as offered with homage to the Righteous Order and to the Divine Sovereignty for the benefit of all the sacred settlements in order to equip the wise man fully and as a helpful blessing among the Immortals themselves and their adherents.

4 And the Fire is likewise mentioned which was worshipped not so much like Agni as the friendly god of the hearth and the altar but more and chiefly like Agni as the priest of the church.

Not unlike Agni, it is called upon both for inward spiritual strength and for temporal blessings in various forms together with vengeance hurled very much as if in the form of a thunderbolt (*zasâ istâs deresta aênanghem*). 5 To explain what he means by his supplications for the coming of the Kingdom and for holy actions (that is to make it certain that he does not mean punctilious ritualism apart from the noblest charity) he rhetorically asks:

And what is Your Kingdom that which Zarathustra establishes and offers to You? (XXXIII 14). What is the kind of prayer (comp. XLVIII 8 and LIII 1) which I must use so that I may become Yours (Your property) in my actions not to load Your priesthood with sacrifices nor to fatten Your princes with booty (as too often in the *Rîks*) nor yet to secure a heavy gift to the poet, but to nourish Your poor? This was the essence of the desired Sanctity and the Sovereign Authority. The Kingdom of God exalted

and personified as a separate intelligence is positively said to be something more than a gaudy pageant of material display even Tavâ Knshathrem ya erezıgyoi dâhi drıgave vahyo (LIII 9) (See also even Vendidad II [part 1] where moral duties are lauded)

And the composer himself seems to be so conscious of the sharply defined difference between such a kingdom and that of the rival religion that he immediately adds an interdict. Such is Your Kingdom caring for the righteous poor and therefore we declare You irreconcilably distinct from the Dævas and their polluted followers. Ye are beyond them and before in the spirit of Your Reign!

6 He then utters an impressive doubt, which only deepens our admiration at his expressions of faith. If it be really true he continues (see XLIV 6) that Ye are thus with the Righteous Order and the Good Mind the God who looks upon the goodness of the heart and the activity of the hands then give me a sign of it that I may persevere and increase in the depth of my homage while life shall last. 7 For the struggle though not without signs of a favourable issue, was far from over yet. (Hence his misgivings)

He then asks with some wistfulness after the ar(e)drâ the men that could help who from the experience of the grace of God could turn sorrow into blessing by establishing the holy religious system firmly but with enlarged and not narrowed understanding. And still a little dispirited he declares as so often. None have I other than You therefore I can wait for the ar(e)drâ. Do ye save us alone by Your already offered means of grace.

8 For Ye have given me already as I were a sign. The enemy are checked and for the moment cowed if they are not repelled. They among whom here was death for so many when they had the upper hand and when their ruler persecuted the holy vows are not only stuck with terror by the act on which we take but their chief retribution is as we hold it spiritual and therefore in the eye of truth the more severe. They will not encourage righteous Order and righteous intentions and accordingly the personified Good Intention grieved will depart from them.

9 Yea, he reiterates, amplifying the unfortunate sinners who depart from Thy kindly and sacred Piety in this ignorance of all experience of Thy Good Mind will suffer an equal desertion. The characteristics of righteousness will in the return, avoid them as the unclean creatures flee from us. 10 And this is thus he continues a sign or result which the All-wise declares to me to steady my soul as I waver. And these are indeed the cheering proofs of Thy favour he adds addressing Ahura which terrify our enemies

and advance us giving us a righteous eminence (XXXIII, 14) in Thy Kingdom

11 Therefore that kindly Piety whom these desert in their judicial ignorance will increase for us both the all comprehensive blessings spiritual Deathlessness began in anticipation here and its necessary condition Welfare And they shall be increased as food (sic) for Mazda's straitened people o better to His glory as their monarch And by their means Ahura may defend Himself efficiently from the persecuting and idolatrous foe 12 Taking into consideration all that depends on a correct understanding as to religious and political duties he fervently prays to be guided aright in the establishment of a ceremonial and of praises beseeching Mazda to speak declaring the kind of worship which may secure the ashvis (which are the blessed rewards) And he asks to be taught those religious paths about which no error was possible the paths which are the Good Mind's own

13 After a fashion already known to us (as in XXIX) he answers his question himself The way which Ahura had already revealed as the Good Mind's own was made up of the revealed precepts of the Saoshyants There as in the paths where Ahura dwells (XXXIII 5 XLVI 16) the well doer may prosper from his devotion to the religious truths and gain a reward immediately from the hand of God. 14 As if never forgetting the original calamity the woes of the Kine he further declares that way to be the one of all to be chosen for this earthly life as the vestibule to the heavenly one And he asserts that they who toil for the Kine (who represents here as generally the holy settlements as well as their chief source of riches and support) are striving to further and demonstrate the wisdom of that way by every righteous contrivance

Nay he declares that the deeds of Piety are themselves the highest wisdom just as the words and righteous actions of the Saoshyants not only declare and make but constitute 'the way

15 Again concluding with a climactic and synoptical prayer he beseeches Ahura to speak and reveal to him all the most available statements ceremonies and praises. And never forgetting that all ceremonies hymns and sacrifices sacred as they are are only means to a greater end, he prays the Deity that He may exert that Sovereign Power which is alone supremely efficient in relieving actual distress (LIII 9) for by its holy laws and spiritual arms it can alone bring on the Frashakard and produce that condition in society in which all human progress shall have become complete

Translation

1 As to those (three gifts of blessings) Immortality, the Righteous Order and the (established) Kingdom of Welfare which Thou O Mazda¹ hast given through (holy) deeds words, and the sacrifice unto these (Thy servants here in my sight¹) gifts (shall) be offered² by us in return to Thee O Ahura¹ and with the foremost of them all¹

2 Yea and all those gifts of the Good Spirit³ have been given (back in gratitude) to Thee by the mind and the deed of the bountiful man whose soul goes hand in hand⁴ with the Righteous Order in the settlement in homage toward the One like You⁵

¹ The hymns seem to be all composed for public declaration as is evident from various passages. Similar indications often occur in the Veda. I formerly connected *aesrar* with *Ameretatâ* & a thank-offering for these (gifts)

² I am very sorry to oppose progress on such a subject as *dastê* but I do not think that it is an infinitive nor that *aite* or *mrutê* are such. *Tê* or what it represents I regard as seldom or never a Gâthic suffix and especially not as here where *daste* falls to the end of the sentence. Too little attention has been paid to the Gâthic sentence. The infinitive *selcor* falls to the end of it. *v dvanô vaoča tat môi vîdîvay vac/a v duyê (vîdvê) vohû mananghâ menka daidyay yêhya ma isnis asha fiadathâi as-perezatâ agôî (?) hâcrôyâ ye aê stem vaenanghê aogedâ but abaya avanghane (?) yâ vcrezyêidyâi mantâ vâstrya, srûidyay Mazdâ fravaoča kahmai vîviduyê (ve) vashu tr v ezyêidyâi hyat moi mraota vahut r aretnâ vîzkyay lamahya tem môî data dazdyâi hâkerenâ but ismî anjâkâ viduvê (vê), men daidyâi ya Toi Mazdâ adistis &c* The Pahlavi renders here with admirable freedom as a first person, *yehabunê*

³ Observe this expression. It is the *spenta manyu* which, like the Holy Spirit of God is sometimes identical with Him

⁴ Souls are elsewhere said to go hand in hand see Y XXXIII 9

I suppose that it is possible that *khshnavatô* here and elsewhere may refer to the subject, to the purpose of your work

O Mazda¹ and with the chants of the (thankful) praisers¹

3 And unto Thee O Ahura¹ will we offer the (thankful) meat offering with self humbling praise and to Thy Righteousness (like Thee a person) and for all the settlements in Thy kingdom which are guarded by Thy Good Mind For in the perfect preparation of the justly acting (has that offering its power) O Mazda¹ together with all (others of its kind) Among those like You and worthy of Your selves it is a blessing³

4 And we pray likewise for Thy Fire O Ahura¹ strong through Righteousness (as it is) most swift (most) powerful to the house with joy receiving it in many wonderful ways our help but to the hater O Mazda¹ it is a steadfast⁴ harm as if with weapo is hurled from the hands

shipper but it does not sound at all natural I think that *khshâmâ vatô* is merely another way of saying of you as *mavant*=me So the Pahlavi also seems to render here *Avô zak i lebûm va niyâyirno* Nei also *Sarâgâkshâmî yushmâl am namaskritaye Mahâgñanin*

¹ This recalls the *dasemê-stûtam* of Y XXVIII 10

The Pahlavi renders freely and not uncritically regarding the *spenta nar* as Zarathustra himself *Aftano dên Garôzmâno stâyem* Ner *Garothmâne staumî te*

² So also the translations *Aighas parvarisn va min frarûm* Ner *Uttamena pratipâyâ manasâ* Compare Y XXXII 2 *sâremanô khshathrâ* The singular verb is difficult.

³ Or for as those justly acting and in preparation will we offer it as a blessing together with all who are among Your own Here *khshâmavant* equals Your own rather than Yourselves

⁴ Or visible as fire but this seems too feeble a conception for the place The Pahlavi translator read *deresta* as a participle from *dar(e)z* which is quite as possible as that it should be from *dar(e)s* He renders *yakhsenunêz kîno* Ner *vidadhati nigraham* That he so translated because he was not aware that *deresta* could be also a participle from *dar(e)s* s no longer enable

⁵ As by no means a partially selected specimen, let the reader

5 What is¹ then Your Kingdom O Mazda?²
 What are Your riches? that I may become³ Your
 own in my actions with the Righteous Order and
 (Thy) Good Mind to care for Your poor (in their
 suffering³) Apart from all would we declare You,
 yea apart from Daevas⁴ and Khrafstra polluted
 mortals!

consider the following from the Pahlavi. Thus O Aôha mazd! this which is Thy Fire which is so powerful is a satisfaction to him whose is Aharayih [when my chief aim (the glossist seeming to have a text with a first pronoun otherwise the first translator who never saw? us(e)mah) becomes one by whom duty and charity are fulfilled] for it is quick and powerful [the Fire] and remains continually in friendship with him and makes joy manifest to him. And therefore O Aôharmazd! on him who is the tormentor it takes revenge as if with a mighty wish.

¹ *Kat* is often a mercative particle so modern interrogatives are also often merely formal.

Bartholomae admirably follows *K₄* here with its *nakhm* it gives a more common explanation of *vâo* which I am obliged to take in a possessive sense beside *ne*. The manuscript used by the Pahlavi writer had however *ahm* as many others now extant.

³ Note the reference of this care for the poor showing what the frequent mention of righteousness the good mind &c meant.

Observe that *daevais* must mean the Demon gods and not their worshippers here *pairevâo* indicates this and also *mashyais* = men who are separately mentioned. The Pahlavi translator is finely critical here giving us our first hint as to the meaning *Pêsh Lekum min harvisp gûno levino guft nomanêd* [aigh tuban kardai homanêd &c]. So with *antare muyê* (ve) he was the pioneer also. I render with impartiality Which (of what kind) is your sovereignty? [that is what thing can I do whereby your sovereignty may be increased through my instrumentality?] And which is your wealth? [that is what thing shall I do whereby riches may be kept in your possession by my means?] How thus in the actions of Auharmazd shall I become yours? [That is I (?) shall do that thing through which by my means your sovereignty is extended and also wealth is kept in your possession by me.] For whenever I (?) shall do righteous deeds, [that is when I (?) shall do duty and good works] Vohûman gives nourishment to our poor. Before all of every kind even before them ye are

6 If thus Ye are in verity O Mazda with the Righteous Order and Thy Good Mind then grant Ye me a sign¹ of this in this world's entire abiding² (while I live amid its scenes) how offering sacrifice and praising³ You the more devoutly⁴ I may approach You (in my worship)!

7 Where⁵ are Thine offerers O Mazda! Thy helpers who as the enlightened of the Good Mind are producing the doctrines with wide mental light as inherited treasures (delivering them as Thy word) in misfortune and in woe⁶ I know none other than You then do Ye save us through Your righteousness!

8 Through these our deeds (of sacrifice and zeal⁷) they are terrified⁸ among whom there was (once) destruction and for manv (at the time) when the

declared [that it is we are more capable] than the demons for their (?) intellect is perverted (and ye are also before) men

¹ So also the Pahlavi *dakhsak*.

² So indicated by *ket ūnān* I have no doubt whatever that *maetha* should have this sense. See also Y XXX 9.

³ So also the Pahlavi *Pavan āf magāno dahisnō va stāyisno sātunam madam*.

⁴ *Urvīdyao* if in its original form looks like a comparative. One naturally thinks of a **vrād* (?) equivalent to *vr̥dh*.

⁵ Rhetorically interrogative as often in English or indeed a mere particle. (Compare XLVI 9.)

⁶ So also the Pahlavi indicates with its *amūkhtisno* (sic) *ī hū varisno* [*i avo kār va kīrfak*] *muniš pavān āsānsh va mūniš pavan tangh vadunyēn frakh hushih*. Ner *Sikshām satyaya yah samā dhanatve samka/atve** *pī kurute vipulazaitanyaḥ* [*kīḥ yah karjam puryam yat samriddhatayā kurite*] *taḥka yat samka/atayā pī kurute tasya vighnanaḥa tanyam tasmād bhavati*.

⁷ *Nao* being taken in a possessive sense.

⁸ But the Pahlavi has *Min zak i valmansan maman kūnisno lanman bim* possibly by these actions they terrify us the middle in the sense of the active.

oppressor of Thy holy vows was as the stronger
oppressing the weaker¹ They who have not thought
(in consonance) with Thy Righteous Order from
these Thy Good Mind abideth afar

9 Aye they who desert Thy bountiful Piety O
Mazda¹ that one desired of Thee² O Thou omni-
scent¹ and who thus abandon her by reason of the
evil doer and in their ignorance of (Thy) Good
Mind from such as these (Āramaiti) with her holiness
utterly departs⁴ as the red Khrafstras (who destroy
and pollute all life flee) from us⁵ (Thy faithful
servants)

10 Through the action of this (His) Good Mind
(as he works his grace within us) the benevo-
lently wise⁶ One declared a result as its fruit He knowing
the bountiful Piety, the creatrix of righteous beings⁷
These all O Mazda Ahura¹ in Thy Kingdom (are

¹ It is a mistake to suppose that the Pahlavi translator and his
followers Ner and the Persian MS (of Haug's Collection) refer
nādyazunghem and nādāto to the same Sanskrit word. They
translate them as referring the first to *nādh* and the last to *nid*.

Min valmansan ba a rakhik ōto Vohūman. Asmanō seems
an impossible reading and cannot be reconciled with Vohū.

² The hint of the Pahlavi points as usual to the general sense
leaving us the task of discovering the grammatical structure.

Here I do not follow the indication of sedkunjēn. Ner paikshī
pyanti. The voc. O Thou is free.

⁴ So also in general the Pahlavi. Min valmansan kated Aharā
yih segdak. Ner tebhyaḥ* prāhuto dharmāḥ* prabhrasyati.

⁵ So *r' ahma* is read but the MS before the Pahlavi translator
read *ahmat*. Ne etebhyaḥ (freely). A simpler rendering results
as from him flee away.

⁶ Observe the evidence of the Zend to the prevalent meaning of
*khra*tu.

⁷ Or reading *hithān* and in the sense of bond we coincide
with Ner *sukhanivāsam*. *Haithām* = the true *hatām*? = of beings
I.e. the true creatrix of Asha (the holy).

helos to our progress) for they smite (our tyrants) with fear¹

11 And for Thee hath Aramutî (who is Our Piety) increased both the Universal Weal and (its confluence in) Immortality and (with them as ever united) the Righteous (ritual and moral) Order (established and made firm) in the Kingdom of (Thy Good Mind) Those powerful lasting two (hath she increased) to (give us the needful) food² And through these O Mazda! art Thou with Thy perfect expellers of hate³ (Thou removest Thy foes afar⁴)

12 What then are Thy regulations ? And what wilt Thou ? What of praise or of (fuller) offering ? Speak forth that we hear it O Mazda! what wilt establish the blessed rewards of Thine ordinance⁵

¹ The word voyathrâ is difficult to place the Pahlavi translator divided reading âvo yathrâ (possibly âvoî athrâ) and rendered frôd kushî art=is smitten down the Persian better Frod /adar is smiting down We may well hesitate before rejecting this indication which may point to a better text Like vafus it may indicate the severity of the influences of the righteous system in the midst of general allusion The ta vispâ might refer quite naturally to dus skayasthanâ in the previous verse The form voyathrâ (corrected) may represent some derivative from the root bi=to fear Compare byante in verse 8

² So likewise the Pahlavi with its khûisnô, otherwise for glory hvar=svar Lit To Thee (are) both Weal and immortality

³ Gavid bēsh min lak hōmanih Nei vītakash/as tvam ōsi

⁴ Ner Thus both are (to be derived) from thee Avirdada's food and that of Amirdâda also [the (food) of the Lord of water and of the Lord of wood* (so the later Avesta and Parsism)] and in the kingdom of the best mind righteousness is making a revelation together with the perfect mind Do thou also bestow zeal and power upon this one O Great Wise One the Lord! From torment art thou exempt

So also virayisno

⁵ Pahlavi ârâysnô

* Otherwise simply water and tree.

Teach Thou us the paths through Righteousness, those verily trod by (Thy) Good Mind¹ as he lives within Thy saints²

13 (Do I ask what is that path?) That way which Thou declarest to me as the path of the Good Mind O Ahura¹ (s made² in its parts by) the religious precepts and laws of the Saviours wherein the well doer thrives³ from (his) Righteousness⁴ And it marks for the good a reward of which Thou art Thyself the bestower

14 For that (reward) O Mazda¹ ye have given as the one to be chosen for (our) bodily² life through

¹ The Pahlavi has the gloss Teach us the way of the original religion

Neryosangh Kim te ammârganam [kila kâ yam te kim mahanyâyitaram?] kaš kîmah? Kâta ju hnal am stutîh? Kâta yshmakam ig snîh? Srimomî Mahâgnâi in¹ prakrîshnam biuhî¹ yat ketsî* dharmasya sammârganam [aho vîse hena pasva¹ tasmât mahânyâyitarat kuru¹] Sikshapaya¹ asmakam dharmasya margam uttamena svâdh nam manasâ [Margam yam purvanyatantam asmahyam b ūh]

² Observe the certainty of a subtle meaning the way is the sciences or laws

³ Geldner has admirably suggested a comparison with vrag on account of the connection way But as this necessitates two urvâz=vraz and as Ahura is spoken of as dwelling in pa his I do not think that thriving in path³ is very difficult The prominent thought is not the going but the right going That path indicates a reward (so also the Pahlavi ka hîdo Ner asvâdayah) But we must be thankful for the keen and vigorous discussion Compare urvakhshanguha gâja ūghaêsa. The Pahlavi has hu ravâkh manîh and in Y XLIV 8 If vrag is compared the idea must be happy progress but vaih (Just) seems the more obvious correspondent

⁴ Asha very often personified is a stronger expression than 'correctly

⁵ Of course our life on earth merely in the bodily state Comp Y XXVIII 3 There astavataska evidently means of earth mananghō of heaven (—of corporeal—of mind without body

the deeds of Thy Good Mind (in us) They who work in the toil of the mother¹ Kine these further² Your merciful care through the understandings action³ and (taught) by Thine Order s (word)⁴

15 Yea (show me O Mazda¹ that path and its reward) tell me the best (of truths) reveal the best words and best actions and the confessing⁶ prayer of the praiser through Thy Good Mind (living within us), and through the Righteous Order O Ahura¹ And by Your Sovereign Power and grace may st Thou make life really progressive⁶ (till perfection shall have been reached)¹

¹ Or the mature drivable (?) cow She goes on her path of toil

² So f âz yehabund

³ Observe that verezena cannot well mean stall in this line The Pahlavi likewise sees varzi âst in it Ner vidhîyate both f ee as to form

⁴ Neryosangh Sa yato Mahagñānin¹ kamo smakam yat tanu mate givamate dîyate [âkaryaya] uttamena karmāne manasā [khshatriyāya] yaskā gavā* âtāray tre* Agnamnyâ [lutumbine] yo yushmakam sunuvānagñānataya Svāmīn¹ buddhyāka punya pradattaya vidhîyate [dîmā]

⁵ I concede this shade of meaning to the constant and unvarying evidence of the Pahlavi translator He translates uniformly by avam yehabunêd or its equivalents

⁶ Bring on millennial perfection when progress shall have been completed

The Pahlavi translation is as follows Pavan zak î lekum khuzayih Aûharmazd¹ frashakarêd pavan kamako âshkarako dên ahvânō yehabunî âst

Ner Yushmâkam ragyena Svāmīn¹ akshayatvam svekkhayâ pansphutam dâsyate bnavane

THE GATHA(Â) USTAVAITI(Î)

This Gâtha, consisting of Yasna XLIII-XLVI is named from the word which begins it like the three last collections. The fact that the word *uisa* possesses special significance may have influenced the minds of the Parsis of a later age inducing them to associate this first chapter with happy anticipations, but it was of course not owing to any such circumstance that the name was given to the Gatha. The Gatha like its fellows has its existence as a unit from the nature of its metre.

It has lines generally of eleven syllables arranged in stanzas of five. It seemed convenient to chant all the hymns of one particular metre together. This hymn from some unknown reason or from pure accident having stood first in the collection in this metre the Gâtha was named from its first word.

The question naturally arises at this place whether this Gatha, in its parts or as a whole is older than the Ahunavaiti and the others. For supplementary statements on this subject see the Introduction page xxvii also elsewhere. It is sufficient to recall here that the procedure of the Ahunavaiti and the sequence of the other Gâthas in the MSS of the Yasna, have little importance in determining the question of relative age. If originally grouped in the order of their age, they might easily become transposed for the purpose of liturgical recitation. (See the inserted Haptanghaiti and Y LII.) As to the metres present they afford no indications as to relative age. The metre of the Ustavaiti, approaching as it does the Trishṭup may be as old as or older than that of the Ahunavaiti. The oldest R̥zshis sang in Trishṭup. The sole remaining test of the relative age of pieces is their contents. Do those of the Ahunavaiti show a priority to those in the Ustavaiti as regards the particular circumstances of which they treat? So far as I am able to

judge, no part of the Ahiravaiti is older than Y XLVI. There we have the man before us at a period in his life before he had attained to his supreme position. He not only laments the unfavourable prospects of his cause but he is full of vehement animosity urging on his adherents to the overthrow of some powerful opposing leader and anticipating an armed struggle so formidable that its partisans are elsewhere alluded to (in Y XLIV) as 'hosts'. We see him also exhorting the various chiefs of his party as they are evidently standing before him in some large assembly, possibly as the army on the eve of an important encounter.

He refers intimately to the monarch, to his own family the Spitâmas, and to the Hvôgvas as represented by Fiashaostia. He offers the rewards of Ahura as he pronounces His threats and condemnations. Every feature bears the strongest evidence of originality. But have we not the same in the Gâthas Ahunavaiti Spentâmainyu and the others? Beyond a question. Those passages which express grief, fear and passionate resentment we should naturally refer to Zarathustra personally and to the earlier portion of his career and we can make no distinction between such passages when they occur in the Ahunavaiti Ustavaiti or elsewhere. As to chapter XXIX with its logical commencement as expressing the sufferings to be remedied in the entire effort together with the call of Zarathustra in immediate connection and chapter XXX with its theosophical statements we should say that they were composed later during a period of success and reflection. But this would be a mere surmise. The time of the sage need not necessarily have been consumed in struggles even during the early years of his career.

Chapter LIII seems to belong to a period of mature age but not necessarily to a period of advanced age. It celebrates the marriage of Zarathustra's daughter but maidens were married early. With the exception of Y LIII I would say that the occurrence of a piece in this or that Gâtha has little, if anything, to do with determining the question of its relative age.

YASNA XLIII

SALVATION IS ANNOUNCED AS UNIVERSAL FOR BELIEVERS
REFLECTIONS OF ZARATHUSTRA UPON
THE SUBLIMITY AND BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA

As in every instance it is probable that verses have fallen out here and here in this important piece and some may have been inserted not necessarily from another composer but from other compositions. After certain limits however marked signs of at least external correction are present. After the first three verses which are quite apart from the fourth and fifth on every alternate verse has the formula *Spentem atithwa Mazda mevhī Ahurī*. It would indeed present no difficulty for a successor to add these words to stanzas otherwise also imitated but whether from the leading sage or not whether from him in one strain or from him as collected from different fragments the course of thought does not so fail in logical sequence as that it is either impossible or displeasing as a whole in a poetical composition.

Verses 1-3 are admirable as preliminary. Verses 4-6 with their lofty descriptions of power and benevolence in the Deity prepare the way well with their allusions to the final judgment for the closer reflections in verses 7-15 upon the prophet's call uttered at the instigation of Sraosha (his obedient will). Verse 16 is a closing strophe looking much like an addition from another hand not at all because Zarathustra is mentioned in the third person but from its general cast. It possesses however very great interest from these circumstances. If a later addition it enables us to see how the principal features of the system were viewed at a period not identical with the earliest but closely following it.

1. If we can accept the deeply interesting suggestion of the Pahlavi translator which is Salvation to him to whom there is salvation for every man we need then suppose no necessary loss of verses. Otherwise we are obliged to consider the loss of some laudatory verse or verses containing such matter as perhaps Y XXXIV 14, This princely priest has devoted all to Thee therefore salvation to him whosoever he may be. Whatever may be the actual truth the main stress of the thoughts is clear and appropriate. Using the word *vase khshayas* in a good sense

the composer beseeches Ahura to grant those two mighty and eternal ones which logically form the complement to each other, universal wholeness welfare of soul and body without which beatitude was inconceivable and then the unlimited duration of that condition for it is quite impossible that long life alone was here meant by a term the equivalent of which soon after designated the Bountiful Immortals. We have here again ample data for affirming the richness and depth of the religious conceptions.

The powerful and continuous two are sought together with splendour as rewards not for the gratification of any selfish sentiment but in order to maintain Asha, the religious Order on which the sacred polity and the tribal as well as the national wealth depended but more than any general blessings the individual sanctity of life. 2 And this is signalled as the highest good, and to this a prayer is added for the *māya* which recalls the supernatural wisdom of the Indian Hercules about which much phantastic and highly coloured myth is grouped but here with the ever-recurring contrast the *māya* is the mysterious wisdom of the Divine Benevolence colourless and abstract indeed but yet possessing how great religious depth!

3 The highest blessing in another and more than once repeated phrase is again besought, as the better than the good even the attainment of the one who guides to the straight paths which are the way even the conceptions and revelations of the Saviours (Y XXXIV 13 LIII 2) in which the believer prospers and Ahura dwells as he dwells in his kingdom and his chosen home itself (Y XI VI 16). Whether this man who shows the paths of the bodily and mental world is the same as he who prays for the *āyaptā ahvāu istvataska hya/kā mananghō* (the boons of the two worlds) in Y XXVIII 3 here referred to in the third person there speaking in the first and whether he is Zarathustra himself are questions. It is only necessary to say that if any relief is gained by the supposition then beyond a doubt Zuathustra may have been the composer of both pieces or fragments here as in Y XXVIII 7 referring to himself as in the third person there in Y XXVIII also further representing another who prays referring by name to him as in the third.

But was Zarathustra the only sacred singer or was he the centre of a group only of which he was the life? (Compare *Yathrā ve afsmāni* (?) *senghāni*—*Gāmāspā Hvogvā* Y XLVI, 17 see also the Introduction.)

4 Proceeding as if the first three verses were absent from his

mind (as indeed they may have been only later brought together with what now follows) the composer begins his ascriptions of praise. He will regard Ahura as all bountiful and mighty since He has carefully nurtured as with His very hand the aids of grace which He will bestow as gifts of forbearance on those now wicked in the hope of penitence and in the merciful threat of punishment and to the devout disciple whose piety is never ceremonial only. And these means of grace although abounding in the inculcation of moral sanctity in thought and word and deed (see Vendidad VIII 100 (Sp 283)¹ where thought clearly refers to intention in the strongest sense of the term) are yet profane aside from the flame of that holy Fire which rallied the masses to a national worship and which was strong for the holy order as well as by means of it. For these reasons he adores their giver but for still another. It was because the might of the Good Mind of Ahura approached him within them and gave him strength for all that was before him. 5 Like the Semitic prophet he poetically conceives himself as having beheld Ahura as the chief of the two spirits and as sovereign over all other powers when the world was born. And he regards Him as having also then established rewards and punishments by his holiness so separate in its qualitative distinction from all complicity with evil either by infliction or permission. And these rewards and punishments were to have their issue not in time alone but in the last turning of the creation in its course.

6 And for Ahura's coming in this last changing he fervently beseeches as well as for the appearance of the Sacred Kingdom established and guarded by the divine Benevolence. And this consummation he implies will take place when the settlement shall be furthered in the Righteous Order and by means of it the end of progress having been attained for then the piety of men's souls will itself be their instructor delivering the regulations which shall silence the controversy of the two sides (Y XXXI 3). And these regulations are as the wisdom of Ahura's understanding (Y XXVIII 2) so penetrating that all thoughts lie bare to it (Y XXXI 13).

7 He now declares the principles on which he accepted the divine call. Sraosha (verse 12) he says drew near to question him. As he is called by Ahura, Obedience the same who constitutes the way to Ahura (or finds His throne (Y XXVIII 6)) now draws near

¹ Anaeshem manô anaeshem vaôô anaeshem skyaothnem prove that the thought word and deed referred to were not limited to a ritual meaning

him, I say Sraosha (the Obedience) for if he is not so described as drawing near in this verse he assuredly is so described in a verse really following (the twelfth). Beyond a question the fine subjectivity here expressed was intended. As the seer cried 'O Righteousness' when shall I see thee (in myself and within my people) so now he means that his obedient spirit listens to the call of God.⁸ And as his personified conscience questions him as to his origin and the principles on which he would proceed, it represents the obedient people as well as the obedient sage (for the sense of Sraosha while originally applied to the personal will is not restricted to it). 'Loyalty' questions him that loyalty may report his answers. He therefore responds speaking in his name as Zarathustra (or else one thoroughly in unison with him here speaks in his name). And this is his statement as to the indications which shall determine his personality. His course will be without a compromise. The unbelieving opposers as he declares shall meet no favour at his hands but detestation while to the devout disciple he will be as powerful an aid. And this because his mind and thought are (as if blinded to the present) fixed upon the ideal Kingdom while for the present he never ceases to toil on making preparations for the Frashakard and constructing hymn after hymn to set up the needed machinery of lore.

9 Again his conscience and obedient will as the angel of the Deity questions him and this time offers him that chief of wished for objects to him religious knowledge. He mentions the holy Fire with its proper offering as the theme of his first inquiry.

10 And he beseeches Ahura to answer and to favour him since he invokes such a complete endowment going hand in hand with true Piety and with no selfish interest in his prayer. He then with a depth which I confess seems suspicious asks of Mazda to put his petitions for him recalling Y XXVIII 11 where he beseeches Ahura to fill up his desire with what not he the speaker but with what He Ahura knows to be the Good Mind's gifts. Or with a conjectural improvement (?) of the text he asks of Ahura to question him that he may be questioned indeed saying as it were 'search me and know me'. But the other reading being retained as having superior point and needing no conjectured text we may see his further thought. Ask Thou our questions for us and then we shall never fail, then we shall be no desireless (anaêsha) men spurned by the wailing kine as flinching champions (Y XXIX 9) but we shall be indeed Thy rulers speaking our mighty wish.

Like the isha khshath a whom she sought (Y XXIX 9) our wish shall work our will it will accord with the w l of God

11 He is however not blind to ail that lies before him in accepting this call He worships the bounty and majesty of Ahura while he is impressing his soul with the import of this conference and that notwithstanding and none the less because His will when obeyed in actions will bring on earthly sufferings

12 But notwithstanding all that may be in store for him he hopes o make those doctrines treasures (Y XXXIV 7) that s a spiritual wealth (compare also Ahura's istu) One only qualification would he add Wait only before Thou g vest the word that I should go forth with Thy new truths (which bring such suffering to him who first pronounces them) wait till my obedient will listening fully to all which Thou shalt say shall come to me and then shall that obedient reverence in me and my beloved help on our effort that we may spread abroad the tidings of Thy promised recompense to win the living to Thee (Y XXXI 3) 13 And that I may know and make known (so he continues) the true aims and objects of desire to those to whom I arr a Thy word to go grant me for this long life within Thy Realm although that life be full of bitterness (verse 11 and Y XXXII 10 11 XLVI 1) for those who propagate Thy cause 14 Yea as a friend both wise and powerful gives to a friend send to me not only Sraosha an obedient listening will but af(e)nô frâkhshnener, abundant grace Then and then only shall I be flanked with a proper aid Then with Thy Sovereign Power like my Obedient will as an angel sent forth from Thee and inspired by Thy righteous Order in law and ritual in thought and word and deed then I will go out to arouse and head the chiefs gathering in o spiritual hosts the many believing priests who even now would bear in mind and celebrate Thy mysteries

15 And as he began with fearless severity so he would end without a compromise My patient suffering (so he implies as he proceeds (Y XLVI 1)) reveals its lesson to me My mind is long-enduring but the patience a though it may seem to some the cowardice of a pusillanimous protector (Y XXIX 9) yet it is not such in truth for it declares within me and forces me to say Let no man please the wicked this is our only prospect of success

16 And casting back his thoughts he (or another in his name) sums all up well Thus doth Zarathustra choose the spirit that spirit which animates the faithful in their chiefs (Y XXXIII 9)

and by his side every true believer utters his sympathising prayer
 Let the Order of life and of the ritual become incarnate in our
 tribes and strong because it has the valiant power of faithful men
 to obey and to defend it And let Piety prevail till it covers our
 land blest with the favours of the sacred sun and as she lives in
 the lives of true adherents may she in sympathy with the Good
 Mind thus grant rewards for all our deeds¹

Translation

1 Salvation to this man¹ salvation to him who
 soever (he may be²)¹ Let the absolutely ruling
 Great Creator grant (us He) the living Lord the
 two eternal powers Yea verily³ I ask it of Thee
 (O Ahura) for the maintaining⁴ Righteousness And
 may st Thou also give it to me, (O inspiring) Piety!
 splendour⁵ (as it is) holy blessings the Good Mind's
 life⁶

2 Yea, to this one⁷ may the man endowed with

¹ Ahmâ as=to us does not seem to be good grammar here
 as it necessitates a forced separation between it and yahmâi
 kahmâi¹ Cp ahmâi yahmâi kahmâi¹ in Y XLIV 16

² I turn from the fine rendering of the Pahlavi with the greatest
 reluctance Nadû/ valman mûn zak f valman nadukih kadârzaî [ugh
 kadârzaî ansutâ min nadûkih i valman nadukih] happy is he whose
 benefit is for every one [that is for every man there is happiness
 from his benefit] Ner follows

³ There is a question whether the particle gât (ghat?) may not
 have originated from gat Barth here follows the Pahlavi reading
 gatôî(?)=pavan yâmtûnisno Lak may have been added as often
 to serve as an alternative rendering

⁴ Or I will so Prof Jolly (infinitive for imper)

⁵ So also the Pahl rayê homand not as a rendering merely but
 as a philological analagon Otherwise riches

⁶ Gaêm recalls sraêsta gaya g(1)vantî

⁷ As ahmâi would more naturally mean 'to this one' in the pre-
 vious verse it is desirable to render it in the same way here

glory¹ give that best of all things the (spiritual) glory And do Thou likewise (Thyself) reveal Thine own² (gifts) through Thy most bountiful spirit O Mazda! (And do Thou teach us) Thy wonderful thoughts of wisdom³ those of Thy Good Mind which Thou hast revealed (to us) by Thy Righteousness (within us) with the happy increase of (our joy⁴) and on a long life s every day⁵

3 And may that (holy man) approach toward that which is the better than the good⁶, he who will show to us the straight paths of (sp ritual) profit (the blessings) of this corporeal life, and of that the mental⁷ in those veritably real (eternal⁸) worlds where dwells Ahura (that holy man) an offerer of Thine⁹ O Mazda! a faithful citizen¹⁰ and bountiful of (mind)

¹ It is to the last degree improbable that *hva*throja (*hva* thrava y miswritten for v) indicates a condition of ease and comfort here The easy man is the farthest possible from the thoughts of the composer The best of all things makes a word kindred to *hæng* (*hvan*) appropriate here

² *Kîli* (?) if an imperative (?) may mean guard over but the Pahlavi translator gives us the better view he has lak pežakino Ner tvam prakâsaya Geldner's *kîthwâ* is impossible

Thwâ=thy properties ⁴ The Pahl has mæleḥ padmâno

⁵ This shade of meaning is expressed by the Pahlavi

⁶ *Ajâre* acc pl

⁷ This expression seems to equal the summum bonum so al o worse than he evil is the ultimate of woe

⁸ Cp Y XXVIII 3

⁹ Does haithy ng mean eternal with every passage in which it occurs considered?

¹⁰ Thwâvart may nowever like mavart simply express the personal pronoun here The position of aredrô &c is awkward if thwâvart=thy Where dwells Ahura Thyself O Mazda! beneficent wise and bountiful But aredra is almost a special term for a zealous partisan

¹¹ The Pahl has khûp danâkîh indicating a meaning which would

4 Yea, I will regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful O Ahura Mazda¹ when (I behold) those aids of grace (approach me) aids which Thou dost guard and nurture² as (Thy) just awards to the wicked (to hold him far from us) as well as to the righteous (for our help), Thy Fire's flame therewith so strong through the Holy Order³ and when to me the Good Mind's power comes⁴⁺⁵

5 (For) so I conceived of Thee as bountiful O Great Giver Mazda¹ when I beheld Thee as supreme⁶ in the generation of life when as rewarding⁷ deeds and words Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue⁸ (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change

6 In which (last) changing Thou shalt come and with Thy bounteous spirit and Thy sovereign power

better apply to Ahura than the one given which cannot be applied to Him

¹ Subjunctive (see Prof Jolly V S p 28)

² By Thy hand ³ The holy Fire of the altar

⁴ Gimaš may be regarded as an improper subjunctive here

⁵ The Pahlavi and that too which renders justice to the wicked and also to the righteous And this Thy Fire is burning since by it the strength of him who lives in Righteousness is (maintained) when that violence which approaches with a good intention comes to me

⁶ See Y XXXI 8 where the word is also rendered as=vornehmster

⁷ Literally 'When Thou didst render deeds provided with rewards We are forced to put the action in the past on account of zāthōi but the influences originally set in motion were to have their issue in the end of the world

⁸ I render hunarâ literally and bring its Pahlavi translation to the same sense as necessarily Otherwise hūnar would generally mean skill Ner has tava gureshu The Pahlavi would here be recognised by all reasonable scholars as striking in its closeness

O Ahura Mazda¹ by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order And saving regulations¹ likewise unto these shall Aramaiti utter (she, our Piety within us) yea, (laws) of Thine understanding which no man may deceive²

7 Yea I conceived of Thee as bountiful O Great Giver Mazda¹ when he (Thy messenger, Obedience) drew near me, and asked me thus Who³ art thou? And whose is thine allegiance? And how to day shall I show the signs that give the light on this (our) question (signs) as to the lands (from whence thou camest) and in thyself?

8 Then to him I Zarathustra as my first answer said To the wicked (would that I could be) in very truth a strong⁴ tormentor and avenger but to the

¹ The word *ratûs* reminds one of the work of the Ratu for the afflicted kine In the last changing, which shall complete the Fra-shakarê he or his representatives will appear as the last Saoshyant introducing millennial blessedness

² I render the Pahlavi here as in evidence Through Thee O (?) bountiful Spirit! the changing comes [(later (?) gloss) from wickedness to goodness] And it comes likewise through Aunar mazd's supremacy within a good land through whose action the progress of Aharâyih's settlements is furthered those which the master is instructing with a perfect mind [] and in which this Thy wisdom shall in no wise be deceived thereby

³ As the kine thought little of her deliverer (see Y XXIX 9) so Sraosha the obedient host is here represented as inquiring as to the antecedents of the newly appointed prophet But he asks more properly concerning the settlements from which he comes than he lands Gaêtha is not *da/v(h),u* An origin external to that of other chieftains is not at all necessarily indicated by the question

⁴ The Pahlavi sees a denominative in *isôyâ* (*isova* y for v) it is denom in the Altiranisches Verbum It differs however as to root I offer an alternative in its sense An open to mentor [that is I openly torment the wicked] even as much as I desire do I torment (them) [(later (?) gloss) *Ganrak minavad*]



righteous may I be a mighty help and joy¹ since to preparations² for Thy Kingdom and in desire (for its approach) I would devote myself so long as to Thee O Mazda! I may praise and weave my song

9 Yea I conceived of Thee as bountiful O Ahura Mazda! when (Thine herald) with Thy Good Mind near approached me and asked me thus For what dost thou desire that thou mayst gain and that thou mayst know it? The! for Thy Fire an offering of praise and holiness (I desired And on that offering for myself)³ as long as I have the power will I meditate⁴ (and for its holy power among Thy people will I plan⁵)

10 And mayst Thou likewise grant⁶ me (Thy) Righteousness (within me) since I earnestly invoke that perfect readiness (of mind) joining in my prayer with Aramaiti (our Piety toward Thee Yea pray Thou Thyself within me through these holy powers) Ask Thou (Thyself) our questions, those which shall be asked by us⁷ of Thee, for a question asked by

¹ We must be cautious in accepting the statement that the Pahlavi translations attempt to be literal. Here is one which is free and far from erroneous. *Aētuno avo aharûbô min valman f aôg hômand aitô*, [aughas, râ'ninam]

² The Pahlavi here shows only the correct root. * *Mâ=smâ?*

³ So long as I can will I be of this mind seems hardly expressed here. Observe the nearly parallel construction in verse 8.

⁴ The Pahlavi Sanskrit and Persian translations would here be regarded once more as extremely close even by opponents if reasonable in their estimates. *Manayâi* seems to me hardly an infinitive as it is comparatively seldom that an infinitive falls to the end of a sentence either in Gathic or Vedic. I prefer the indication of the Pahlavi with Justi and Bartholomae (in the *Altiranisches Verbum*).

⁵ Read perhaps *daidhus* (later shortened to suit the metre).

⁷ Or ask us that we may be questioned by Thee.

Thee (as its inspirer) is as the question of the mighty whene'er Thy (?) ruler speaks his potent wish

11 Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful O Ahura Mazda¹ when (Thy messenger) with Thy Good Mind near approached me and with your words I¹ first impressed (my soul) Woes then midst men Thy heart devoted one² declared³ (to be) my (portion) but that will I do⁴ which Thou didst⁵ say was best

12 And since Thou coming thus Thy legal Righteousness in fulness spakest then declare not to me words as yet unheard (with faith or knowledge, command me not) to go forth (with these upon my task) before Thy Sraosha⁷ (Obedience) comes to me, to go on hand in hand with me with holy recompense and mighty splendour⁸ whereby to

¹ The Pahlavi translation bears evidence to a less subtle and therefore more probable sense here but at the same time to a rare grammatical form. It renders *dīdāwē* as a third person indicating an instance of a third person in *ē* and not in the perfect. It also recognises a reduplicated form by its *pavan nikēzino nikēzēdō*

² The Pahlavi translator with a curious error or still more curious freedom has *ūbak dahisnēh he e* and elsewhere. Possibly the Gāthic text before the last compiler differed from ours

³ I still prefer Professor Bartholomae's earlier rendering after the Pahlavi as more in harmony with *mraotā* and *mraos*

⁴ Professor Jolly has the important rendering *das will ich thun* the infinitive in a future or imperative sense

⁵ Ye said

⁶ The Pahlavi unvaryingly *kabed*

⁷ Here we probably have the missing subject in the other verses

⁸ Reading *māzâ rayâ* (*Rayâ* cannot well mean riches here) The Pahlavi also indicates the division by its free or erroneous *mas ratû (rad)* Sraosha an obedient will personified guides the soul as in the later Parsism Cp the *Arââ Viraf*

give the contending¹ throngs(?) as a blessing² (Your) spiritual gifts (of certainty and peace)

13 Thus I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda¹ when with Thy Good Mind (Sraosha, Obedience) approached me (And I would therefore pray thus of Thee that bounteous one) In order that I may make known to men the true and sacred aims of their desires (in the rite or daily toil) grant Ye me long life³ for this (that blessing⁴) which none with daring may extor⁵ from You even this (gift) of that desired⁶ place which has been declared to be within Thy Realm

14 Yea as the man enlightened⁷ (in Thy law) and who has possessions gives to his friend (so give Ye) me O Great Creator⁸ Thy rejoicing and

¹ Here we have the important reading *rânôibyô* as against the dual of *K4* *ēc* (see Geldner). No mention of the fire occurs and as the form does not agree with *arām* we may well doubt that comparison in view of *āsayau* in Y XXVI 2 and the unvarying and uniform *paikardârarô* of the Pahlavi. The rendering with the sticks is however admirably adapted and must be considered as an emphatic alternative.

² The Pahlavi supports the reading *vi fo ve* it has *ba a* *Ashf* might also mean merely 'holy' as adjective.

³ In Y XXVIII 7 he asks for it that he may crush the malice of the foe.

⁴ Justly admirably suggested *yânem* understood.

⁵ The Pahlavi divides *darstaute* and as I hold mistakes the root as was inevitable. The ancient scribe feared to restore the severed fragments which appeared as so often in the MSS before him I would read *darsantê* with Spiegel's *c(?)* (so Bartholomae later however recurring to a division with Geldner after the Pahlavi, for the sake of bringing out an infinitive).

⁶ *Va ryau* contracted from *vairyayau* by a corrupting improvement to regulate the metre.

⁷ So the Pahlavi indicates, Bartholomae following as against the rendering 'possessing'.

⁸ With regard to *Mazdan* and *medhâ* I should perhaps long

abounding grace, when through Thy sovereign Power and from (the motives of Thy cause of) Righteous Order I stand forth¹ to go out to² or to arouse the chiefs³ of Thy (pure) proclamation with all those (others) who recite Thy well remembered⁴ Māthra word

15 Yea I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda¹ when with the Good Mind's grace Thy Sraosha (Obedience) approached me (and said) Let the quiet and long enduring better mind with understanding teach (hee) let not a foremost⁵ man

since have stated that I object to the comparison not only because medhā is a feminine and as Grassmann has supposed possibly represented by the Zend madh Greek math but because wisdom is an abstract (while su medhās as a compound does not apply so directly) I hold however that mazdā the fem noun in Y XL 1 = medhā. It is also not impossible that this word may be represented (with differing shades of meaning) by both madh and mazdām (fem) in Zend

¹ Read perhaps frakhsē or frāsta with Thine advancing kingdom I (am) to go forth to (frā + as participle)

Prof Jolly has the important rendering Ich will mich erheben the infinite in a future or imperative sense

² Chertainships Compare (not with exactness, however) sār dbāmsi

⁴ The idea of reciting from memory seems to be included in marentē

⁵ The rendering pourus (?) as = pl of pūrus is attractive but dreg vato hardly needs and seldom has a substantive The wicked = wicked men and on the other hand na constantly claims an accompanying word (nā ismanō nā vaēdemnō hvō nā ereihwō nā spentō y nā kē va nā &c) Also it is improbable that the words nā and pourus as = puravas should come together let not a man men evil ingratiate (?) Compare for sense here purviās in one or more of its applications Possibly the meaning is let no a man be foremost in conciliating the wicked The Pahlavi likewise has labeled (freely) Ner has Ma naraḥ* praḥuram durgatinam bhuyat* yathā kathamkit satkarta An important rendering is that of Professor

conciliate the wicked (as sycophant desiring aid) for with that (quiet mind of faith) Thy saints have brought full many a sinner unto Thee (as convert and in penitence¹)

16 Thus O Ahura Mazda! this Zarathustra loves the Spirit² and every man most bounteous prays (beside him) Be Righteousness life strong and clothed with body In that (holy) Realm which shines (with splendour) as the sun let Piety be present and may she through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind give us blessings in reward for deeds³!

Joll V S s 47 mochte e wenige Verehrei des Lugneis geben
Cp Y XLVI 1 where the composer speaks of the chiefs as on
1 ei sde not contenting him

Or with 1e Pahl Mur rē uro lak haivisp-guro aharubano payan arāk yakhsenund for they consider all Thy saints as wicked The rendering above is less natural as conveying the idea of a conversion (comp however ja g(i)vantō vispeng vauraya) but it renders the grammatical forms more simply It is bad policy to force a text to express what we happen to believe to be a more natural idea Using the hint of the Pahlavi here in an understanding manner, we might then render for they hold all sinners as holy

² I had long since compared *verente* with *vr̥mte* (*devānam* *īvas*) and am now sustained by Bartholomae's view

³ Possibly the *Spersta* man ju of Ahura (See also Y XLIV 2)

¹ The Pahlavi, on the contrary bears evidence to the meaning comes which I cannot accept as tradition in view of the following precatives

⁵ Ner The kingdom becomes established (in a manner completely manifest) in sun publicity through mental perfection [] and upon the workers of righteousness the Good Mind bestows it

YASNA XLIV

QUESTIONS ASKED OF AHURA WITH THANKFULNESS
AND DEVOTION

Many verses may here have fallen out, or on the other hand the piece having been made up of homogeneous but not originally connected fragments has been left with some abrupt transitions. These however occasion very little difficulty in exegetical treatment and are also not displeasing. The formula "This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aught" seems to have been suggested by Y XXXI, 14. We might therefore look upon this piece as composed later than Y XXXI but not necessarily in a later generation or even from another hand. In fact the style is thoroughly homogeneous in certain places with that of pieces which we ascribe without a doubt to Zarathustra and the signs of struggle point to the earliest period. It is possible that the words in Y XXXI and the formula here were of common origin neither having any extended priority to the other or the words may be original here and derived in Y XXXI.

Whether Zarathustra or another of the narrow circle of religious leaders was the composer throughout depends upon the further questions already more than once broached as to how far a corresponding intellectual cultivation was extended at the period in the community and as to what is the probability of the existence of more than one man in the small group endowed with the peculiar qualities everywhere manifested in these hymns (see remarks in the Introduction and elsewhere). It is safest to say that Zarathustra composed most of the matter here before us and that the supplementary fragments were composed under his dominating if not immediate influence.

Verses 1 and 2 seem an introduction but hardly give added emphasis to the fact that the following questions were expressions of devotion and only in a few instances appeals for knowledge. Verses 3-5 are certainly questions intended to express veneration while naming particular objects of devout inquiry. Verse 6 stands somewhat apart. Verses 7-11 enter into details touching the moral and religious improvement of the people. 12-14 are polemical, 15 and 16 are prophetical, &c.

More loudly the composer beseeches Ahura to speak to him and in a manner characteristic of Himself as in distinction from the falsifying utterance of the opposing religion which was so familiarly described as the religion of Fals-hood. He is entreated to reveal as is His wont, the holy truth. And the first question propounded to Him by the composer as comprehensive of all others is how he may offer homage the homage of God Himself or of His bountiful spirit (see manyû in verse 2). And he further asks that Ahura may speak to him showing him by what ceremony he may conciliate him and by what helps of grace that spirit, or Ahura Himself may be inclined to draw near to him in accordance with his frequent prayer.

2 Once more he asks how he may serve that Spirit as the foremost one of Heaven (compare Y XXXI 8 and the Parsa'ist) who seeks for this addition of praise to praise for as the supreme claim to our veneration. He had, as a guardian (Y XXXI 13) like Ahura in yet another place held off destruction from all believing saints and from all ep'ntant men (Y XXXI 3) and that although as the chief of Heaven yet also as a benignant friend.

3 From these introductory petitions inserted perhaps before many lost verses he proceeds in another tone although he may still be said to say what is homogeneous to the foregoing. Yea I ask how I may serve Him O Mazda! for He is indeed Thyself and therefore to show my fervent homage I ask. Who was not the first establisher alone but the first father of our holy Order as the personified Immortal and that not by creation, but by generation as the parent generates the child? Who fixed for stars and sun that way the undeviating path through space long noticed and studied by our fathers as no random course or unknown progress save Thee:

4 The laws of gravitation then become the theme of his praise still expressed in the form of questions also the atmospheric phenomena, especially the clouds driven by winds not like the Maruts beyond the mountains perhaps but still terrible as winds can be. But he cannot leave even the sublime objects of nature without thinking once more of that spiritual power the strength of righteous character which was justly more impressive although still more familiar and which he designates as ever by the Good Mind. Here this great Immortal is left an immortal thought, and is spoken of as created, not born like Asha (in verse third). 5 Beyond a doubt recognising the satisfactions of energetic life as well as the solaces of slumber and as forming by their contrast the necessary

change which binds up happiness he alludes to the supreme arranger as well skilled and asks Who so wisely relieved the day by night? But again he cannot close without reverting to the course of moral duty 6 Seized with a doubt which again only heightens the fervour of his assurance he asks whether indeed the facts which he proclaims are really what they seem Whether piety although aided by the Good Mind implanted through Ahura's grace within us will indeed at last or soon assign the purified Realm to the servants of Ahura who were there among the masses before our eyes (*taēibyō*) or to Ahura Himself as their sovereign controller (*taibvō*?) And as including all rural riches in herself he asks for whom He had made the kine not now wailing in her grief (Y XXIX 9) but delight affording on account of the influence of Piety and Benevolence embodied in the Kingdom in ferring that God had made her for these same (the faithful masses) 7 And going yet further back he asks who made that paternal and final Piety itself together with the Realm which it should lighten? Answering his own inquiries by an inference he adds I am pressing Thee with fulness in these questions O Thou bountiful Spirit (*compa e manyur* or *manyu* in verse 2) the maker of all (sun stars and holy qualities) 8 Turning now to verbal revelations he asks by what means his soul may prosper in moral goodness praying that it may indeed thus advance as the expected answer would declare 9 He prays that he may know how he may still further sanctify that Religion which the King of the Holy Realm (*compare anghaus vahistahyā pourvīm*) the one like Ahura (see *Khshnavatō* and *thwavas* verse 1) would teach dwelling in the same abode (in which Ahura is also elsewhere said to dwell) with the holy Order and the Good Mind (see Y XLVI 16)

10 Expressing all in a single word he asks Ahura to reveal to him the *Daēna* the Insight the substance of that Religion which was of all things best and which alone could advance his settlements with the holy ritual and moral Order as its ally which would also render all their moral and ceremonial actions and moral principles just by means of the divine Piety which was their realisation in practice and he closes with the exclamation that the wishes and desires of his soul when most imbued with wisdom will seek for God.

11 Following out the influence of *Âr.maiti* (that personified Piety) he asks to know by what practical means she may approach and be realised as the characteristic of those to whom the holy Insight should be preached avowing that God knows how prominent

He is then alone on the matter and with what hatred seated in his spirit he views the opposing Gods. 12 Then casting a searching glance over the masses and perhaps eyeing these several groups each headed by its chieftainship (*saidenau sanghahya*) he cries addressing Ahura formally but the people really (so also elsewhere frequently), and says: Who is the righteous believer as regards these my questions asked of God to express my belief in Him, and who is the sceptic? Which man does the Angra Mainyu govern or which is as evil as that chief himself? And recalling the galling fact that some are tolerated who not only do not assist but oppose his efforts, and perhaps having some half convinced sections in full sight he cries with bitterness: Why is his manner that chief who opposes me as Angra Mainyu opposed Ahura (compare *pathi-erete* with *aat mōi pathi e eie* in *Vendidad I*) why is he not believed to be what in very truth he is? Why is he still countenanced? 13 And then with a fierceness which reminds us of *sazdām snauthsna* (Y XXXI 18) but which is deeper because proposing a less material remedy, he asks: Why must we abide the sight of these opposers representing their Lie demon as their Goddess? How can I drive her hence to Hell beneath not to those who hesitate like these, pausing before they condemn the evil party but to those who are already filled with their disobedience and who having no communion at all with us receive no light like these from the reflected glory of the truth, and who have moreover neither sought nor shared like these the counsels of Thy Good Mind. Yea how he reiterates: can I deliver up that Lying Goddess in the persons of her adherents or the Holy Order in the persons of the saints into their hands to slay her not with the snauths only, but to destroy her as a falsehood by the Māthras of Thy doctrine not barely to withstand these wicked corrupters as we now do enduring the silence of these masses and their deeds (verse 12) their fear of them or their connivance with their deeds but to proceed slaughter among them to their total overthrow?

15 He then presses on the coming collision and prays to know to which of the hosts (compare *āsavau*, Y XXXI 2) that claim the *uvātā* Anura will give the prize. 16 And who, he further asks shall be the champion who shall lead the victors, the *ve e* *thremgrn* (compare *sargā* Y XXIX, 3) who will thus take up the *ra m* and the Māthra (verse 14) and so at once contend for both the worlds. And he wishes him not alone pointed out but approached as Zarathustra was approached (Y XLIII) by an obedient will, and moved to his holy work by the inspiring Good

Mind of Ahura be that champion Ratu whosoever the Lord might wish. Salvation in the shape of success in his great attempt should be his portion (Y XLIII 1) 17 Half intimating that he himself may be the coming man he begs to know when he can have that conference in which as in the desired *hemparstu* and *darstu* of Y XXXIII 6 he may communicate more closely with Ahura and through the revelation which might be vouchsafed may become a protecting leader to secure the ever named abiding two Weal and Immortality which were the better than the good the *vihista* of the saints

18 A preliminary wish arising he asks that he may receive the honorary gift of mated mares and a camel as material for sacrifice before a battle (?) the highest interests of the people even their lasting Welfare demanding that he should receive this help 19 For the monarch or leading chief who may withhold this justly deserved and needed help or honour he declares by the terms of his following question that some instant judgment will be forthcoming for the threats of the future condemnation seem for the moment only trite

20 As a peroration he appeals to the reason of the wavering groups among the masses who still delay to call evil evil (verse 12) and he asks whether the *Dācvas*, as represented by their adherents had ever been good rulers when they had the power Were not robbery and violence then the law with them as now? And did not the Kine as representing the sacred herds and people lift up her wailing voice?

(The piece from verse 12 seems to constitute a religious war song These verses seem not to have been originally connected with the calm and thankful contemplations in verses 1-10 but later united with them Verses 2-20 stand in the closest connection with Y XLVI which has however preserved more of the elements of sorrow and discouragement which influenced the leader and his followers at times See also XLIII 11)

Translation

1 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright when praise is to be offered how (shall I complete) the praise of the One like You¹ O Mazda? Let

¹ Some who seldom cite the Pahlavi follow 1 here *nīyāyisno zak mīn aētīno nīyāyisno ī Lekum [dīnō]* Otherwise one might

the One like Thee declare ¹ earnestly to the friend who is such as I thus through Thy Righteousness (within us) to offer friendly help ¹ to us, so that the One like Thee may draw near ² us through Thy Good Mind (within the soul)

2 This I ask Thee O Ahura ¹ tell me aright how in pleasing Him may we serve the supreme one of (Heaven) the better world ⁴ yea, how to serve that chief who may grant us those (blessings of His grace and) who will seek for (grateful requitals at our hands) for He bountiful (as He is) through the Righteous Order (will hold off) ruin ⁵ from (us) all guardian (as He is) for both the worlds O Spirit ⁶ Mazda ¹ and a friend

erd nemê with BV S (variation) in Y LVIII 3 and render how s all I bow myself in your worship?

¹ The Pahl hamkardâ s likewise followed The alteration to hâkôrenî is very interesting but I think hardly necessary

² Observe the great difficulty in referring Khshâmâvatô to a human subject Here we have the homage of the One like You (of Yours(?)) (some would say) in Y XXXIII 8 we have Yisnem Mazdâ (Ahura) Khshmatato in Y XXXIV 2 Khshâmâvatô vahmê in Y XLIX, 6 Tām daēnām ya Khshmatato Ahurâ. Khshmatatô is sometimes merely a way of saying of Thyself as mavutê=to me

³ Observe also the emphasis on his drawing near so herwise let Your one declare it to my friend (?)

⁴ See Roth Y XXXI 8 See however also de Ha 'ez's suggestion perhaps after the hint of the Pahlavi quelle a été l'origine? Here we have another instance where an entire verse seems to allude to Ahura in the third person with an address to Him brown in or at the close In connection with angha vahistahyâ Ahura must be the pourvia as in Y XXXI 8 where Roth renders vornehmster The guardian is also Ahura (see Y XXXI 13)

⁵ I cannot fully accept the hint of the Pahlavi here as others do who seldom heed it I do not think that sin is so much indicated as des ruct on

⁶ Mainyû is suspiciously expressive as a vocative perhaps by spiritual power would be safer

3 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright Who by generation¹ was the first father of the Righteous Order (within the world)² Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars³ their (undeviating) way² Who established that whereby the moon waxes and whereby she wanes³, save Thee⁴? These things O Great Creator! would I know⁵ and others likewise still

4 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds⁶ above that they do not fall² Who made the waters and the plants² Who to the wind has yoked on the storm clouds the swift and fleetest two⁷? Who O Great Creator! is the inspirer of the good thoughts (within our souls)²

As a genera or (?)

² Bartholomae follows the Pahlavi here as rendered by Ner putting *hæng* and *starem* (am) in the genitive which is in itself far better than to regard *daś* as governing two accusatives. One would however rather expect *hæng star m adhvānem dāt*

³ Al! follow the Pahlavi here which renders with allowable freedom *Nerefsait* (=Pahl *nerefsêd* Ner *nimilati* Persian *kahad*) might possibly be explained as a nasalised form of an Aryan correspondent to *aroha* as *nas=a*.

⁴ Possibly from thine influence (?)

The infinitive *viduye* (=vidvê) lies here in an unusual place at the end of the sentence. It is because the word has no stress upon it. The emphasis rests on the objects which he desires to know about. The entire connection deals with knowing. It has no prominence.

⁶ This rendering is not supported by the Pahlavi which seems to report a rendering from some text with an a privative and a form of *dar*. The unsupported object might mean the air space. See the suggestion of Bartholomae the earth and the air space comparing the later Sanskrit.

⁷ Or for velocity adverbially. Velocity however in the abstract as the object yoked-on is rather too finely drawn. I should prefer

5 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright who, as a skilful artisan hath made the lights and the darkness? Who as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest (of wak'ng hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras the noontides and midnight monitors to discerning (man) duty's true (guides)?²

6 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright these things which I shall speak forth 'if they are truly thus Doth the Piety (which we cherish) in reality ncrease³ the sacred orderliness within our actions? To these Thy true saints hath she given the Realm through the Good Mind For whom hast Thou made the Mother-line the producer of joy⁴?

7 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright who fashioned Aramaiti (our piety) the beloved, together with Thy Sovereign Power? Who through his guiding wisdom⁵ hath made the son revering the father? (Who made him beloved⁶?) With (ques

the fleet ones th' lightnings My rendering follows the indication of another as a dual but not as to full exegesis One naturally supposes the yoking together of the winds and dark clouds to be meant

¹ Recall *svā vād asmann adhipa u ándho* — *Rv VII 88 2*

² Ner Who gave us the lights with his keen discrimination? And who the darkness? Who in his keen discrimination gave (us our) sleep and waking [that is our diligence and activity?] Who is he who gave us the time of *harana* and the time of *rapithvana* [] and the method and calculation of him who discerns by means of the just rule []?

³ So also the Pahlavi indicates by *stavar*

⁴ So I prefer, but the indication of the Pahlavi deserves an alternative giver of bounty *skar=kar*

Gaus azyau was later a common expression for a mature animal, but possibly vulgarised from its older special use here

⁵ Root *ri* (?)

⁶ I thus add as the Pahlavi translator indicates such an element in *uzemeri*

tions such as) these so abundant¹ O Mazda I press Thee O bountiful Spirit (Thou) maker of all!

8 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright that I may ponder² these which are Thy revelations O Mazda! and the words which were asked (of Thee) by Thy Good Mind (within us) and that whereby we may attain³ through Thine Order to this life's perfection Yea how may my soul with joyfulness⁴ increase in goodness? Let it thus⁵ be⁶

9 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how to myself shall I hallow⁷ the Faith of Thy people

¹ Frakhshn=*m* abundance (Pahl kabed Ner prakuram Persian MS b syai) The thought refers back to anyaka viduyê [ve]

² Haug sagaciously renders as if *nendâidyâi* were a miswriting for *pendadyâi* which is in itself very possible as an *m* looks much like an inverted *e* in MSS. So the Pahlavi records the irregularity also from which Haug derived his idea. But Haug explains the word as an allusion to the five prayer hours of the day. I doubt very greatly whether the five prayer hour existed at the date of the composition of this passage. Such regulations grew up much later. The Pahlavi translator indicates elsewhere an accusative (*meng*=*mam*) with an infinitive that I should give forth which is in itself far from impossible. He was aware (!) that *meng* could also equal *man* see Y LIII 5

³ *Vaêdyai* is infinitively used for *vôizdyâi*

I do think that it is necessary on the whole to postulate two similar words here (although Geldner's suggestion is most keen and interesting). *Urvâkhranguha* and *urvâkhsukhti* do not favour a comparison with *vrag nere*. The Pahlavi is indifferent *Kīgūn denman i li rūbānō zak i rapī hū ravakh manih?* So Ner *uttam-ānanda* Barth beglückend

⁴ *Kā tā*=*kéna téna*

Or let those things happen to me, *gam* means come more frequently than go here. Lit let it thus advance

⁷ *Kīgūn denman i li dino yōs dasar i avêgak yor dâsaryôm?* Ner *Katham idam aham vat dīnūz pavitratarām pavitrayām kila dīnūz katham pravartamanāz karomī?* As Zarathustra is

which the beneficent kingdom's lord hath taught me, even the admonitions which He called Thine equal, hath taught me through His lofty (and most righteous Sovereignty and) Power as He dwells in like abode¹ with Thine Order and Thy Good Mind?

10 This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright that holy Faith which is of all things best and which going on hand in hand with Thy people shall further my lands in Asha Thine order and through the words of Âramaiti (our piety) shall render actions just. The prayers of mine understanding will seek² for Thee O Ahura!

11 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright how to these your (worshippers) may (that Piety once again and evermore) approach to them to whom O Lord Thy Faith is uttered? Yea I beseech of Thee to tell me this I who am known to Thee as Thy foremost³ of (servants), all other (Gods with their

represented as sanctifying the Fire (in Y 11.1) so here he would doubly sanctify the Faith itself. He would hallow its name and meaning.

¹ Pavanar-hamdemûnih ketrînez [pavan hamkhadûh h]

² I cannot regard the caesura in this verse as possessing ordinary importance: the *mahyau* (*manyau*) *âstôr* is especially dependent on the following words. The Pahlavi translator hints at an important solution which is that a pause should be made before *usen* the wish or mine understanding wishes and I wish (am wishing). *Khîrsand hômanam*=I am content. If we can accept a break (a possibility far too little recognised) the *usen* as representing a nominative singular would refer back to the meaning in *mahyau* (*mahyau*). But reading *îstis* (as irregular for *îstayê* on account of the metre) we might regard *usen* as a third plural. Or shall we take it as a quasi third singular *usen* being *usâm* (*en*=the nasal vowel compounded as a third singular imperative after Barth)? Let the wish (*îstis*) of my enlightened understanding wish for Thee.

³ Compare *aêshâm tôi, Ahura! chma pourutemâis dastê*

polluted worshippers) I look upon with (my) spirit's¹ hate²

12 This I ask Thee O Ahura¹ tell me aright who is the righteous one in that regard in which³ I ask Thee my question² And who is evil² For which is the wicked² Or which is himself the (foremost) wicked one² And the vile man who stands against me (in this gain of) Thy blessing wherefore⁴ is he not held and believed to be the sinner that he is²

13 This I ask Thee O Ahura¹ tell me aright how shall I banish this Demon of the Lie from us hence to those beneath who are filled with rebellion² The friends of Righteousness (as it lives in Thy saints) gain no light (from their teachings) nor have they loved the questions which Thy Good Mind (asks in the soul⁶)¹

Auserkorer is a fine but a bold rendering Election is however included in all divine prescience

I have no doubt whatever but that mainyaur and dvaêshanghâ belong together

² The Pahlavi translation is as follows That which I ask of Thee tell me aright O Auhamazd! when shall the perfect mind come to the persons [that is when does the mind of my disciples become perfect]² When shall it come to those who declare this Thy Religion O Auhamazd? Grant to me before these the proclamation of the truth Against every other spirit which is malevolent I keep my guard

¹ Yours adverbially or possibly with whom I question

⁴ *Kyanghat* is I think simply the equivalent for *kî (?) anghat* = qui fit, how does it happen that? Stands free for comes

⁶ The Pahlavi on the contrary takes *perenaungho* in the sense of combating *pavan anoknshidârin patkarêd* = (who) are opposing you through disobedience It is far from certain that he does not indicate some improvement in text or rendering

⁶ Or the counsels of holy men

14 This I ask Thee O Ahura tell me aright
 how shall I deliver that Demon of the-Lie into the
 two hands of Thine Order¹ (as he lives in our hosts)
 to cast her down to death through Thy Māthras
 of doctrine and to send mighty destruction²
 among her evil believers to keep those deceitful
 and harsh oppressors from reaching their (fell) aims³?

15 This I ask Tnee O Ahura! tell me aright
 If through Thy Righteousness (within our souls) Thou
 hast the power over this for my⁴ protection when the
 two hosts shall meet in hate⁵ (as they strive) for
 those vows which Thou dost desire to maintain how
 O Mazda! and to which of both wilt Thou give⁶ the
 day⁶?

16 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright,

¹ Ashu with Geldner

The Pahlavi anticipates us in the correct general sense here
 It has i shomsno The Persian MS renders the Pahlavi hamā
 v nēni deland i darwand

² Anāshê seems regarded as an infinitive by the Pahlavi
 translator anāštūnsno For the destruction of those deceivers
 is an obvious alternative to the rendering above (a rashê?)

³ Geldner and both render mru = Sanskrit mad otherwise with
 complete protection Or is mru/ablative for genitive If thou rulest
 over me to afford me protection? The Pahlavi affords no indi-
 cation

⁴ The Pahlavi translator erred widely in his attempt to render the
 word anaozangha As it is certain that his MSS differed from
 ours of r they probably did so here The verse alludes beyond a
 question to some expected battle in a religious war and perhaps in
 a religious civil war It is the most positive allusion to the strife
 of the two parties (Y XXXI 2) which has come down to us It was
 a struggle concerning the religious vows or doctrines, avais urvatāis
 ya tu Mazdā dideregi so

⁵ The Pahlavi renders anāzām by good thing expounding the
 overruling power

who smites with victory in the protection (of all) who exist and for the sake of, and by means of Thy doctrine² Yea clearly reveal a lord having power² (to save us) for both lives Then let (our) Obedience³ with Thy Good Mind draw near to that (leader), O Mazda! yea to him to whomsoever⁴ Thou (shalt) wish that he should come

17 This I ask Thee O Ahura! tell me aright how O Mazda! shall I proceed to that (great) conference with You to that consummation of Your own when my spoken wish⁵ shall be (effected) unto me (the desire) to be in the chieftainship (and supported) by (the hope of) Weal and Immortality (those saving powers of Thy grace) and by that (holy) Māthra (Thy word of thought) which fully guides our way through Righteousness (within)

¹ Verethremgar thwâ following the Pahlavi with Westergaard Geldner and Bartholomae

Compare Y XXIX, 2 and Y XXVIII 3 or it may mean promise to establish (Barth) Kizdi however hardly seems to need an intuitive wish it, it may mean appoint Compare dam u (patnî) for a better sense than house lord al o for deng patôis

² This casts additional light on the one that should come in Y XLIII 7 9 11 13 15

This recall ahmai yahmai usîâ kahmâkîr

The comparison with gar has long circulated among Zendists Many adopt it It agrees admirably with the Pahlavi as to sense Aimat Auharmazd! damano kardarih 1 Lekûm when is Your appointment of the time?

³ The Pahlavi va mûnîk zal 1 11 gôbisno hômand khvâstar

⁴ Va sardâr yehevunînih madarn Haurvadađ va Amerodađ Ner Sûm no bhavishyanti upan Avîrdađe Amûdađe comp also Y XLIX 8 fraêstaungho aunghama Professor Jolly compares buşdyai with φυσθαί (Inf 3 194) The long since circulated comparison with bhug seems to me hardly so probable It may however deserve an alternative to enjoy Weal and Immortality but accusatives

18 (And having gained Thine audience and Thine Orders sacred chieftainship), then I ask of Thee O Ahura¹ and tell me aright how shall I acquire that Thy Righteous Orders prize, ten (costly) mares male mated and with them the camel¹ (those signs of honour and blessing for Thy chief I ask Thee for these gifts for sacrifice) For it was told me for the sake of our Welfare (in our salvation) and of our Immortality in what manner Thou² shalt give³ to these (Thy conquering hosts) both of these Thy (gifts⁴ of grace)

19 This I ask Thee O Ahura¹ tell me aright (in the case of the recreant of him) who does not give this (honoured) gift to him who hath earned it yea who does not give it to this (veracious tiller of the earth to him who in no respect shows favour to the Demon of the Lie even to the) correct speaker¹ (of Thy sacrificial word) what shall be his sentence at

do not fall so naturally to the end of the sentence in Gâthic or Vedic without preceding related or qualifying word

¹ The e suspected of no partisanship for the Pahlavi translation follow it here as against Haug who translated the words *ustremka* by et alius! It means a camel so the Pahlavi translator rendered many centuries ago before Europeans even knew what the Indian *ushtra* meant which simple analogy Neryosangh first drew. Horses were material for sacrifice among the Persians according to Herodotus. The reasons for the prayer are not fully expressed

² So better than as a first person aorist subjunctive if *taerbyô* is to be read. The Pahlavi however read *taerbyô* which is not lightly to be passed over

³ The rendering take has long circulated. I do not however prefer it here

⁴ Wealth and Immortality but he might refer to the two objects the mares and the camel

⁵ The ideal Zarathustrian comp Y XXXI 15 XLIX 9

the first (now at this time and because of his first dealing? I ask it) knowing well his doom at last¹

20 (And how as to our deluded foes?) Have Daêva (worshippers) ever reigned as worthy kings? (This verily I ask of Thee the Daêva worshippers) who fight² for these (who act amiss? Have they well reigned) by whom the Karpan and the Usig(k) gave the (sacred) Kine to Rapine³ whence too the Kavian in persistent strength⁴ has flourished? (And these have also never given us tribal wealth nor blessings) nor for the Kine have they brought waters to the fields for the sake of the Righteous Order (in our hosts), to further on their growth (and welfare)¹

¹ So also the Pahlavi followed by all *Kadar valman pavun zak vinasno aito fratun* [aigas pavan vinâskârîh padûsias fratûm maman]? *Âkas hômanam zak mûn valman aito ardum* [mamanas darvardi] ? Ner (with regard to him) who does not give the reward which has come for the one fitted for or deserving of it [to Garathustra's equal] (the reward) which the truthful man [that is the good man] is giving to him what is the first thing which happens through this sin of his? [that is what is his first chastisement in consequence of this fault?] (For) I am aware of what his punishment shall be in the end []

² The Pahlavi translator either had a text with some form of *pa* or was otherwise misled. He renders *mun netrund* but gives the word the adverse sense of hindering in the gloss. Ner however has *pratuskhalanti* which points to *peshyeztu* and also tends to show that other MSS of the Pahlavi (and among them the one used by Ner) read differently from our three K₅ D J and the Persian transliteration *Kâm=Ved kam* with *dat*

³ See Y XXIX 1

⁴ Professor Wilhelm vigour (De Infin p 14)

YASNA XLV

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM HOMAGE TO AHURA

This hymn bears fewer traces of a fragmentary condition than others. It recalls Y XXX and like it appears to belong to a period or to an interval of political repose and theological activity. It is smoother and more artificial than is usual and it goes straight or it way from beginning to end. A powerful adversary had just been crushed. It was the dussasti of Y XXXII 9. This may well have been the result of the conflict alluded to in Y XLIV 5 16 and possibly in Y LI 9 10 also urged on by the fierce Y XXXI 18 probably often repeated in lost hymns.

An assembly is addressed as in Y XXX 1 but this time as coming from near and from far. It may very possibly have been the winning side in a late struggle. The first verse sounds like a congratulation.

It might be said to be intended to be sung if not shouted to a multitude whose outskirts were by no means within easy reach with the voice. At all events attention is summoned with three differing expressions. Awake your ears to the sound literally sound ye in a receptive sense (let the sound peal in your ears) then listen (sriota) and then ponder (mazdzunghodum). The Anuzarathustia the evil teacher par excellence, has been defeated he declares and he will never again destroy the peace of our lives (Y XXXII 9 11). His evil creed has been silenced and his tongue can no longer shout out its periods of persuasion or invective (Y XXXI 12) beside our preachers.

2 He then reiterates the chief doctrine for which the parties had been at war and which they should now see clearly in the light of their victory. The foul evils of society do not lie within the control of the holy Ahura in such a manner as that he either originates, or tolerates them. They are, or the contrary, the product of the personified Anger of the Daêvas the Mainyu in its evil sense the Angra (angry ?) Spirit. Between this being or personified abstraction and Ahura there is a gulf fixed. (Never do we see any aspersions upon Ahura's name or a suspicion of His purity as shown by complicity with cruelty or the toleration of evil passions.) It is also to be noted that the defeated dussasti may have possibly been a Daêva worshipper chiefly as being a heretic from this Faith.

of Ahura believing Him to be implicated in the creation or permission of sin and suffering or if the burial or burning of the dead was forbidden at this time then possibly a heretic on these questions also. But yet as a recient Mazda worshipper he may have claimed a rightful allegiance to the urvâtâ, and the future blessings as well as temporal advantages involved in a correct discipleship and so he may have used the name of the sacred tenets of the Religion itself to help on a nefarious warfare. In fact he may have been a self styled Mazda worshipper but not of Zarathustra's order not owned at all in any degree by the genuine adherents and met as a real if not an open Dâêva worshipper.

The ardent prophet therefore declares the utter severance between the good and the evil the God and the Demon. It is a popular corollary to Y XXX 3-6. The two spirits came together indeed at first to make life and its negation and they co operate if such a term can be applied to an irreconcilable antagonism out of whose antitheses and friction sentient existence alone becomes possible. Their union consists in opposition, for if they blend they each cease to be what they are. They are while upholders of existence yet separate for ever and that as to every attribute and interest.

3 And the sage goes on to assert that in this he is proclaiming the first Mâthra of this life which the all wise Mazda had revealed to him. And whether sure of the victorious masses before him or whether on the contrary perfectly aware that many a group among them had been more convinced by the snatches than by reason he presses at once upon them that one terrible doctrine which seems unfortunately too needful for all successful and sudden propaganda and he declares that they who do not act in a manner accordant with what he speaks and even thinks (having formerly announced it) to such delinquents this life should end in woe.

4 Proceeding in a happier vein he then dwells upon the fatherhood of God. He will declare this world's best being who is Mazda Himself. He is the father of the Good Mind within His people when that Good Mind is active in good works. So our piety when it is practical is His daughter for no pretended good intention can claim relationship with Him nor can any idle sentiment. He needs the ready mind within His servant, and He is not to be deceived (compare Y XLIII 6).

5 Returning once more to the Mâthra and this time to hold out rewards rather than to utter threats he declares that Happiness and Immortality would be the portion of those who listened to and

pondered his revelation and that Ahura Himself would likewise approach them with the rewarding actions of His Good Mind for Ahura was also in all good actions on the one hand just as His Immortal Archangel's on the other had their objective existence like verse 7 the believer's soul

6 Turning from admonition to worship he announces not what he terms the first (verse 3) nor the best (verses 4 and 5) but the greatest element of all implying that praise which he now expresses includes both prayer and doctrinal confessions and he calls on Ahura both to listen and to teach 7 It is the greatest element indeed for it concerns those spiritual blessings which not only the officers who are now living will seek after but those also who shall live in future nay even the spirits of the just desire them in the eternal Immortality And these blessings are according to a well remembered law woe to the wicked and that not only from outward discipline but from inward grief And Ahura had established so let all the beneficent out, as regards the wicked still solemn regulations by the exercise of His Sovereign Power as the controller of all (Y XXIX 4) 8 Zarathustra (or his substitute) then professes his eagerness to serve the Lord with these words which he had called the greatest and because he had seen Him with his very eyes which he explains as meaning that he had known Him though the Righteous Order in his soul and therefore he prays and hopes to pronounce these greatest praises not in the assembly (Y LI 3) alone but in the Home of sublimity or song (Y L 4)

9 And he desires all the more fervently to do homage to Ahura because He approaches him with the Power of His divine Authority in wealth or woe blessing both men and herds so long as they multiplied under the influences of Piety 10 As the praises were the greatest one seeks to magnify the Lord in the Yasnas of Atama and Anura being renowned by His unchanging purpose for He will bestow the eternal throne in His holy Kingdom when I shall have been made firm 11 Yea he would seek to magnify Him who confronts the Daevas and their party as much as they in their turn profess to rival Him and His religious Kingdom contrasted as they were with Ahura's prophet, who honoured Him in the holy Insh the Liens of the Saoshyant And this Saoshyant is declared to be the controlling master of every faithful worshipper and he or the faithful venerator of the reviled Ahura is also as our friend brother nay like Ahura Himself (verse 4) our very Father in the Faith

Translation

1 Yea I will speak forth hear ye now listen
ye who from near and ye who from afar have come
seeking¹ (the knowledge) Now ponder² ye clearly
all³ (that concerns) him⁴ Not for a second time
shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind or
the body) The wicked is hemmed in with his faith
and his tongue¹⁵

2 Yea I will declare the world's two first⁶ spirits
of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harm-
ful⁷ Neither our thoughts nor commands nor our

¹ I h means to come seeking The bavibunêd o he Pahlavi
followed by many is by no means incorrect

The reading *riazdaunghodum* was suggested to me by Dr Aurel
Stein previously (as I believe) to its announcement elsewhere
Before this the indication of the Pahlavi (which always hesitates to
change a MS regarded at the time as sacred) had been followed
by all with its necessary error

³ The *e* in *kuthre* must represent a nasalised vowel as in
mehmaidi

⁴ *im* may be merely a particle

I would here strongly insist upon an alternative rendering in
the sense of the Pahlavi The rendering above is given on prin-
ciple A text should never be changed if it is possible to render it
as it is Read the wicked confessing (*varetô* active sense) evil
beliefs with his tongue The Pahlavi has *zakas saritar kamako va*
zakar darvandih pivan hûzvino lêmunnêd Many with this view
would at once read *varetâ* without MSS

⁶ Observe the peculiar *pouruyê* (*pourviye* if not a locative) the
two first things principles forces so in Y XXX 3

⁷ Notice that *vahyô akemââ* (in Y XXX 3) necessarily apply
to the *manyû* and not only because as nominatives the words fall
to the end of the sentence Here we have analogous adjectives
applied unmistakably to the two The neutrals correspond with
vahistem manô and *akistem manô* and are of capital importance as

understandings nor our beliefs nor our deeds nor our consciences nor our souls are at one¹

3 Thus I will declare this world's first (teaching) that which the all wise Mazda Ahura hath told me And they among you who will not so fulfil and obey this Mithra as I now shall conceive and declare it to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe

4 Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being) From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda who hath appointed these (things)² hath known (what He utters to be true yea I will declare) Him the father of the young Good Mind (within us) So is His

expressing the abstract concept on which renders the Gathas so much more impressive than the earlier documents of this kind

The Pahlavi thus glosses: I do not think what thou thinkest [for I think what is pious and thou thinkest what is impious] nor our teachings [for I teach what is pious and thou what is impious] — nor our religions for mine is the Gâthic and thine that of the sorcerer nor our souls [for he who takes his stand on my religion and he who takes his stand on thy religion are apart their souls do not occupy the same position] Ner naka dîn h [jato me dîn h gâthabbavâ teka râk nas³]

The first teaching was a prominent idea with the Zarathushtrians. It is carried in the later Avesta, the *paçrîyô/kaêsha* (sic). He hardly plays the rôle of a reformer in the Avesta. He is mentioned after others chronologically, not as repudiating them. He might better be termed reformer. Yâst is difficult, perhaps *daēnam* is to be understood or *nam* (*māthrem*) read, see verse 4 *anghaur ahya vahustem*. Neither *pourvīm* nor *vahustem* are adverbs.

¹ Some change the text here to another which corresponds to some of the texts better. It should however first be rendered as it stands, the obscurities may well be owing to idiosyncrasy in the composer, possibly also to an affectation of obscurity (or dark speech). How can Mazda be said to know Himself? or how could any but Ahura be spoken of as 'the Father of Vohu Manah and Aramaiti'? He recognised Himself as having generated V M and A. He was conscious of the completed relation

daughter through good deeds (our) Piety Not to be deceived is the all viewing¹ Lord

5 Yea thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals They who therein grant me obedient² attention upon them cometh Weal to bless and the Immortal being and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord

6 Aye thus I will declare forth Him who is³ of all the greatest praising through my Righteousness I who do aright those who (dispose of all as well aright) Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit in whose homage (what I asked) was asked⁴ with the Good Mind Aye let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) he best

7 (Yea I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for those who are living now as well as those who have lived (aforetime) as will they

¹ Hishas looks indeed like a nominal sing. but may it not be a nominal orig. from the redup. root? Compare *hishnasat* (although the Pahlavi renders with a different cast of meaning) What Indian word to compare here is hard to say I prefer Bartholomae's earlier view (as to the meaning) with the Pahlavi *harvispo nik rīdār* By dropping the later glosses the sense of the Pahlavi comes out as usual, much closer to the Gâthâ

² Observe the vigour possessed by *Sraosha* It designates the angel of Obedience and at the same time it is the only word which can here bring out the sense when it is understood in its actual meaning so continually with the words *Vohu Manah Asha* &c

³ Lit 'Him who I do aright (praising Him with His immortals) who (all likewise) are (beneficent) Or it may be that which

⁴ So with many who hold the least to the hints of the Pahlavi Otherwise I would render 'there is furtherance' comparing *afrashî mantô*

also who are coming¹ (hereafter Yea even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal² Immortality (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked And these hath Ahura Mazda (established) through His kingdom He the creator (of all)

8 Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve for now with (mine) eye I see Him clearly Lord of the good spirit³ of word and action I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda And to Him (not here alone but) in His home of song⁴ His praise we⁵ shall bear

9 Yea Him with our better Mind we seek to honour who desiring (good) shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow⁶ May He Ahura Mazda make us vigorous through Khshathra's royal power

¹ *Bvazntika* (sic) seems as elsewhere to express those who are becoming

² The Pahlavi uniformly errs or is strangely free with this word The sense continuous is here admirably adapted

³ This word seems evidently used almost in a modern sense of character disposition Elsewhere we are in doubt whether to refer it to the Spenta Mainyu of Ahura or to Ahura Himself

⁴ Paradise, possibly home of sublimity

⁵ The change from singular to plural is frequent. *Ner* varies from the Pahlavi in the last verse, improving upon it *Evam tasmai praxāman antar Garo'hmane vidadamahe* This was probably an intentional improvement as the Persian MS follows our Pahlavi text His MS of the Pahlavi probably read *barā yehabūnd*

⁶ Or who has created weal and sorrow for us with good intention (and as our discipline), but this is hardly probable Ahura did not originate evil. *Spentā aspenhā* are used adverbially (see Y XXXIV 7)

I hardly agree to reading *vereznyau* (sic) here in the sense of homes The meaning is endow us with efficiency in the pursuit of the objects mentioned in the context Or the propitiation and

our flocks and men in thrift to further from the good support and bearing¹ of His Good Mind, (itself born in us) by His Righteousness

10 Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage who in His persistent energy² was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda for He hath appointed in His kingdom through His holy Order and His Good Mind both Weal and Immortality to grant³ the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation)

11 (Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daêva gods and alien men them who before held Him in their derision Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honour This latter one is through the Saoshyants bounteous Faith who likewise is the Lord of saving power⁴,

reverential honour may have been more directly in the composer's mind may He endow our (worship) with efficiency that it may accomplish its desired result See the positions of the words

The Pahlavi translation also bears witness to the rendering above, with its erroneous or free *va. zidâr avo lanman*

¹ As it is impossible for those who have studied the subject to believe that the Pahlavi translator did not know the meaning of *amavandîn* in Zerd we must suppose him to have had some form like *hazah* before him instead of *huzâ (thwâf)*

The Pahlavi translator rendering this word in the two other places by *pavan astûbîh* had evidently some reason for seeing a form of *nâman* here The natural conclusion is that his MS read differently in this place Ner renders him appropriately

² *Dân* looks like an accusative infinitive here (Bartholomae) otherwise the two verbs must be regarded as having indefinite pronouns understood one assigns and they grant

³ I cannot see the applicability of Agni's title 'house lord' here compare *dâmsupatni* as adj referring to *pâti*

a friend, brother or a father to us Mazda Lord¹

YASNA XLVI

PERSONAL SUFFERINGS HOPES AND APPEALS

In treating this most valuable section we can as usual presuppose that the several verses were not originally composed in the order in which they now appear. Verses 1-3 seem like a cry from the depths. In verse 4 animosity appears and an appeal to the energy of some of his faithful adherents seems to prove that with verses 5 and 6 the composer addressed it to an assembly, 7-10 are questions and appeals to Ahura but as a matter of course they are none the less really intended to impress the hearers as well as to animate the mind of the reciter. Verses 11 and 12 were again intended to be delivered to adherents.

Verses 13 & addressed to them in terms. Verse 14 would be regarded by some as little suited to the connection and the rest seem spoken to an assembly of chiefs. However different they may be as to the particular time or circumstances of their origin they are in general so homogeneous even as to pitch of intensity that with a little exercise of the mind we can as usual see the reasons why they were put together or were consecutively composed, and in poetic diction sudden changes neither displease nor surprise us. Beyond a doubt the leading prophet is the figure in the first and second verses and those verses are so free from imagery that we hold them as describing beyond any reasonable

¹ He who despised the Dævas they returning the contempt is probably the same person expressed by the two hô in the previous verse. It is the afore Ahura, but the words which mean friend brother father are grammatically connected with ye—mainyâtâ the one who revered Ahura. The expression 'father' gives a strong impression that Ahura is referred to notwithstanding the vocative. Particularly as we have father in verse 4. The word brother however, pictures one to the more closely grammatical

question together with many other pa sages in the Gathas the afflictions and discouragements of Zarathustra himself. He knows not whither to turn although he speaks as a public person and in command of forces which are scanty indeed (verse 2) but yet still able to take the field (Y XLIV 15 16) and his movements also concern large districts (lands). He is not driven from his house but from his country. It is superfluous to say that religion although blended with a natural ambition is his leading motive. How he shall satisfy Ahura is the one problem which he aims to solve but his case at this particular juncture shows every discouragement.

2 Not supposing that his yâ=yéna is merely lost in the meaning that we see that in relieving his burdened mind he exclaims not that he knows that he is poor in means and troops but that he knows why it is thus. It is the dregvants work whom we may as well understand as the drugvant the accursed enemy who holds back (verse 4) the bearers of the Holy Order from all success in their efforts to gain a righteous livelihood from the favoured cattle culture (Y XXIX 2) and who as he with grief long since foresaw should he attain to power would deliver up home village district and province to ruin and death (Y XXXI 18). He therefore cries to Ahura in common with the Kine herself (Y XXIX 9) and his behold is only a changed expression for her exclamations (Y XXIX, 1).

As a friend he would have the good Mazda to regard him as seeing an especial form of grace and he would beseech Him to fill up his need (Y XXVIII 11) in his extremity teaching him not the value of flocks and followers alone but of that *frst* which lay deeper than the material wealth which he yet lamented even the blessings of the Holy Order in every home. 3 And therefore he continues. Teach me and tell me of those great thoughts the *Ahratavô* the salvation schemes of the Saviours elsewhere also spoken of as the *khratu* of life (Y XXXII 9) for these saving helpers would through a severe conflict and after many a reverse at last bring on Completed Progress.

4 But he must arouse himself from the relief and indulgence of his grief he therefore springs to action and with a cry which we hear elsewhere (Y LIII 9) and which was in all probability often uttered in hymns now lost to us he urges the reward for the chief who at the head of his retainers shall expel the world destroyer the *dussastu* (Y XLV 1) from power and from life. And what is that reward? It seems to be merely the recognition and confirmation of merit among the faithful. The man who shall

expel or destroy the heretical tyrant shall be eminent in the recognition of his services in the support of the people and their sacred agricultural civilisation.

That was to be rewarded enough and even that prestige (*pourva tā em*) was to be given back to God in offering for still further service (Y XXXIII 14)

5 And every righteous official is urged to repeat the proclamation as a warning to every polluted *Daēva* worshipper whom he can discover or to whom his voice can reach as well as to those secret adherents who would seem to need encouragement. The charged official is to assail the destructive opponent (Y XXXII 6-8) only after careful discrimination. He is to approach the evil chief the hostile *hyaētu* (or the blood) as distinct from the inferior noble or the peasant clansman and he is to tell him fully of the price set on his head. 6 And the superintendent who has the power and does not thus carry out these instructions shall himself be delivered over to the bonds of that Lie demon whom the evil kinsman serves. For there is no compromise in the dualistic moral creed. The man who favours the evil is as the evil and the friend of the good is as the good himself so had the Lord ordained.

7 Then, as so often elsewhere he turns his thoughts to the outward emblem as the sign of inward grace the sacramental Fire without which the masses would have had no help to fix the eye or draw prostrations and he asks with the question of profound devotion. Whom have they (The *Saoshyants* verse 3) set me as strengthener in these storms save Thee and Thy symbolic flames? Yet even here he names the Good Mind with them and the Order.

8 But he continues may he who would destroy my settlement find every influence and power combined to form his ruin may all things keep him back from prosperity and may nothing keep him back from ruin.

9 He calls then for a leading helper who may help him magnify Ahura, not merely in religious celebrations but in that universal advance of the sacred cause which follow Ahura's conciliation (verse 1).

10 As if to hinder the discouragement of those who hear his own unburdenings of grief he declares that he will never leave the faithful few who follow him he will go with them to the dread assize itself as if to help them pass the last of tests.

11 But the wicked, open or concealed should not share these hopes their conscience even the remorseless executioner shall curse them, as they try to pass the Judgment Bridge and hurled

from that narrow path (it becomes narrow to the faithless) they shall fall to eternal Hell

2 The destruction is not however yet decided there is not only hope for the tribesmen of Ahura but for the pagan and not for the alien only but for the Turanian enemy whose very name had been a synonym for suffering. If these even shall repent they may be blest and some had already turned. The converted tribe Fryana offered many pious proselytes. These would help on the righteous order together with the holy people and God would dwell with them as well.

13 Rhetorically referring to himself as in the third person or else representing some second speaker who names his name, he can still offer his reward to any prince who will yet come up with his retainers to his cause not kept back by the many refusals which he had met (verse 1) nor discouraged by the scant numbers of his bands, and that reward is one which might yet be efficacious to induce self-sacrificing succour for in addition to what had been said (see verse 4) he could declare spiritual life from Ahura to be the portion of every faithful follower and with it future temporal wealth. And he should declare this true recruit the good mate in the service the first helper (verse 9) of the tribes.

14 Here we have what seems a question conceived as uttered by some one in the throng or else simply rhetorically thrown in.

Who is that friend, that powerful coadjutor who is thus offered this reward and for such a service? Zarathustra names the king. But he diverts the minds of hearers from a pernicious trust in individuals.

He would appeal so he implies not to one man only although that one be Vistāspa the heroic but to all whom Ahura would recognize in His assembly through the inspired suffrage of the mass.

15 And first he addresses the group made up chiefly of his family the Spitāmas they were as he implied, enlightened in the sacred lore and among the foremost therefore of the Ar(e)dra.

16 He then calls on Frashaostra with the Hvōgvas exhorting all to continue in their righteous course in harmony with those whom they wish for as Saviours for the land assuring them that they will reach at last that sacred scene where the Immortals dwell with God.

17 'That scene' he further adds where the faithful sing their praises in perfection, using the true metres (as sacred as the Vedic). And he declares that Ahura who discerns the truth infallibly will heed and answer for the praises sung there will be those of obedient men who offer to the cause.

18 He once

nor holds on his spiritual rewards as the best gifts of the inspirer
 evaluation, the caening as usual commensurate visitation upon the
 oppressing clans while both promises and threats are in harmony
 with Ahura's will, for that alone has been his guide in every state-
 ment 19 After all complaints and threats and stern injunctions
 he closes with the once more repeated word reward and that
 for every man who shall aid in his great affair (Y XXX 2) and
 he appeals to God Himself asserting His inspiration for all that
 he has said

Translation

1 To what land to turn¹ aye, whither turning
 shall I go² On the part of a kinsman (prince) or
 allied peer none to conciliate, give³ (offerings) to me
 (to help my cause) nor yet the throngs of labour
 (not) even such as these⁴ nor yet (still less) the evil

¹ The Pahlavi translator sees the usual meaning in *namô* and
namô He also accents *kām zam* adverbially after the constant
 Gathic usage In what land shall I establish my religion (as it is
 here rejected) whither with my priest (of the true God) shall I
 go² The pondering is so much richer that I turn from it with
 great reluctance

² It is to be regretted that able scholars should so hastily change
 the Gathic text here without first trying to render it as it is This
 is all the more necessary as each independent writer disputes
 emendation is But I think ought to stand The *hvaētu*, aryanman
 and *verētanem* are also else where alluded to as appealing to
 the hostile party sometimes and therefore not among those from
 among whom (*vara?*) the prophet would be expelled

³ *Dadai* as a third plural has long been suggested with the
 eagerness of discovery Its subjects would then be *kshnāus*
 and that implied in *ya vōezrā* But the construction is difficult
 thus and it may be easily doubted whether we had not better
 alter our discovery back into the singular with the Pahlavi I am
 greatly confirmed in my view of the grammatical form of *kshnāus*
 by Bartholomae's decision for a nominal form Otherwise I would
 be a third singular with loss of the final dental

⁴ *He* seems to be an irregular form (see Y LVIII 4) I can

tyrants of the province How then shall I (establish well the Faith and thus) conciliate Thy (grace) O Lord?

2 This know I Mazda! wherefore I am thus unable to attain my wish¹, and why my flocks are so reduced in number and why my following is likewise scant Therefore I cry to Thee behold it Lord! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend (Therefore to meet my spirit's need and this as well) declare and teach² to me the Good Mind's wealth

3 Wher come Great Giver! they who are the day's enlighteners³ to hold the Righteous Order of the world upright and forward pressing? When are

only make an exclamatory isque=talsque of it The Pahlavi renders freely as if some form of hī=to bind were before him (ecall hōis?) or perhaps he read hažā rendering as=these all together, hamsayakīž Ner ye svasrenayo

¹ So the Kine complained of him in Y XXIX 9 as anaēsha so also the Pahlavi explaining akhvāstar [aīgham denman atū bānikih maman rāi khavīstūnam] He proceeds hī amat kam amak va amati/ kam gabrā hōmanam explaining anaēshō as not being an ishā k'ishathra Mā=sma notwithstanding position (?)

² Nim wahn has long since circulated as a rendering for ākhsō and with īstīm in the sense of prayer it has afforded the admirable sense observe take heed of the desire of the pious But we have a positive proof of the meaning teach declare for khsa see Y LXV 9 (Wg) So also in Y XXVIII 5 That Ahura possessed an īsti is clear from Y XXXIV 5 And if the sage could ask What is your īsti (wealth)? what is your kingdom (power over possessions)? it is certainly not strained to suppose that he could say here tell me concerning your wealth, especially as he bewails his poverty īsti is in antithesis to the idea expressed in kamnafshvā and kamranā So also the Pahlavi as translated by the Persian hezānah

³ Ukshano would seem to be an ancient error for ushāno as the Pahlavi translator renders as if reading ushā in Y L 10 and

the schemes of the saviour Saoshyants with (their) lofty revelations (to appear)? To whom for help does he (their chief) approach who has Thy Good Mind (as his fellow worker)? Thee for mine exhorter and commander Living Lord! I choose

4 (But ere these helpers come to me, all rests as yet in gloom) The evil man is holding back² those who are the bearers of the Righteous Order from progress³ with the Kine (from progress with the sacred cause) within the region or the province⁴ the evil governor, endowed with evil might consuming⁵ life with evil deeds Wherefore whoever hurls him from his power, O Mazda! or from life stores for the Kine in sacred wisdom shall he make⁷

not ukhshâ Otherwise increasers of the days is a fine expression but suspicious in view of the Pahlavi rendering in Y L 10 Ner s^{*}vi^{*}asay tryo (s c) is striking but I cannot claim for it all that it seems to offer as Ner elsewhere renders forms of vakhsh by those of aas The Persian follows the Pahlavi

¹ Comp Y XLIV 1

² Pa in the sense of keeping back from welfare as well as in that of protection a sense first taught us by the Pahlavi writers is now at last generally acknowledged It now like many other suggestions of the Pahlavi actually casts light in the rendering of the analogous Vedic word

Some mass of MSS with the Pahl min fravâmrno Persian az raftan The expression might refer to the going of the kine as representing the people in her path

Comp Y XXVI 18

⁵ Pahl zak î pavan dus-sabamâk Ner dush^{to} balâtikân The elements seem to be dus + hazo + bâo (=vâo)

⁶ Ush in Iranian seems to have the sense of destruction combined with it some times hence aoshah aoshirno

⁷ Âa. can well mean 'attain to' Pathmang as=paths (so I formerly rendered) gives a far nobler sense than that indicated by the first Zendis the Pahlavi writer The wisdom of preparing stores for the kine even if we suppose an animal only to be meant

5 (Yea) he who, as ruler treats no coming applicant with injury¹ as a good citizen (or nobly wise) in sacred vow and duty and living righteously in every covenant who, as an uncorrupted judge discerns the wicked (that leader who rejecting me, would keep back those who propagate the Faith), let him, (this righteous judge,) declare (the vengeance) to that (host le²) lord (my) kinsman Yea let him crush him when he sallies forth³ (to approach us for our harm)!

6 (And he who leaves him in his guilty error has my curse) Yea he who has the power⁴ and will not thus (with stern reproof⁵) approach him shall go to

is obvious. The Irman winter was something very different from that in India. But the line is not alluded to without a certain figurative meaning. She represents the people and as such she cried aloud and Zarathustra received the commission to relieve her sufferings as such. That the word *huistōis* stands in the genitive should not disturb us. The care for the king was a matter of national importance and wisdom could not better be exercised than in this direction.

Or we may render he who as ruler does not bestow favours upon him who approaches with injury. The hint of the Pahlavi favours this.

¹ *Hvaêtavê* is here as in Y XXXIII 4, Y XXXII 1 and the first verse of this chapter the hostile chieftain called kinsman in an aristocratic sense by Zarathustra and his group.

² I compare *uzuthyazusta* which is used of the breaking forth of water. The Pahlavi translator seems to have had some such idea *mûn lâlâ bengîdô* but with him the entire line which divides all writers, favours the sense in saving him from his impiety. *Khrun yat* is a verbal form (with Bartholomae).

³ The Pahlavi translator sees the root *is*=to wish in *ismanô* who does not willingly approach him, or who does not approach desiring (and seeking?) him.

⁴ I am gratified to see that another takes nearly this view of this line. He has *verfolgt*.

the abode of the Lie (and) the enchainers¹ For he is evil who is the best one to the evil, and he is holy who is friendly to the righteous as Thou didst fix the moral laws² O Lord!

7 Whom then as guard O Mazda¹ hast Thou³ set me⁴ then when that wicked one still held⁵ me for his hate² Whom (had I) then but Thee Thy Fire and Mind Ahura¹ by deeds performed in which Thy Righteous rule is saved and nurtured² Therefore that spiritual power⁶ (vouchsafing me) for the (holy) Faith (its truths) declare

8 And as to him who (now by evil power) delivers up my settlements to harm let not his burning (wrath) in deeds attain⁷ me But bearing back⁸ the (evil will and evil influence of such) let these things come (back) to him in anger Let that to his body come which holds from⁹ welfare but let no (help)

¹ Haethahya as a masculine is a word as would be baêthahyâ so the Pahl (of the terrifier) A loc of haithya may be correct taking damân also as a loc Otherwise to the creatures of the Lie and the enchainers (or terrifier)

² O! as Thou didst make the souls at first

³ So with K6 K9 (Barth)

⁴ Some render me here who seem elsewhere loath to translate thwawant as=like thee thee Khshmvato thwâvas and mavantê in Y \LIV 1 may be rendered of you thou and to me

⁵ So the Pahlavi indicates I have however elsewhere as against tradition, rendered as if the root were dar(e)s, has set his eye on me for vengeance

⁶ One might be tempted to read ta' môi dâs tvem, that granting me do Thou speak forth for the faith

⁷ The Pahlavi translator indicates the root sâ by his rêsh, so read as alternative let him not wound us

⁸ The meaning but contrariwise has been ventured on The indication of the Pahlavi is in opposing pavan padîrak yam tunisno

⁹ The Pahlavi here misses the point and taking pâyât in its usual

at all (approach him, which may) keep him back from misery (And let this happen as I speak) from (vengeful) hate O Lord!

9 But who is the freely helping one who will teach me foremost¹ how we may adore Thee Thou the well to be invoked² as in Thy deeds, the holy³ bountiful Ahura? What (words) the King's creator⁴ spake for Thee by aid of and to aid the Righteous ritual Order these words of Thine (Thy people coming) with Thy Good Mind are seeking now (to gain and learn from) me⁵ O Mazda Lord!

sense falls into confusion The ancient scholars like some of their successors could not always believe that pa could mean to hold back from good as well as from evil They recognised it sometimes giving us our instruction on the subject but not here

Did the composer appeal to some powerful coadjutor here or does he rhetorically express his perplexity?

² Zevistim must equal forms of hu but from the constant evidence of the Pahlavi to the meaning endearing one is much inclined to suggest a reading as if from zush

³ Ashavanem is applied to Ahura and cannot so well mean righteous here Holy is the more proper term in this connection while spentem is necessarily excluded from that meaning by its occurrence with ashavanem in immediate connection

⁴ Notice that the word tashâ occurs here with no mention of sounding in the connection (see note 6 on page 6)

⁵ I am here recalled to the Pahlavi by some who rarely name it I had rendered 'these words are inciting me (in duty) through Thy Good Mind so is often in the Veda The Pahlavi translator like his successors scandalised at the difficult forms also anticipated his successors (as elsewhere often) in getting free from the difficulty He did what is exactly equivalent to what is now practised by scholars (sometimes too often) He rendered the text as if changed from what he could not understand to what he could understand adhering to the right roots however which I now follow He knew that ishesti mâ did not mean I am seeking but he could not credit the words before him

⁶ We have now a suggestion which must often have presented itself to those who read the Rig veda constantly, and that is (so

10 Whoever, man or woman, shall give to me those (gifts) of life which Thou hast known¹ as best O Mazda¹ and as a holy blessing through (Thy) Righteous Order a throne (established) with (Thy) Good Mind (with these I shall go forth yea, those) whom I shall (accompany and so) incite², to the homage of such as You³ (on earth) forth to the Judge's Bridge (itself) with all of them shall I lead on⁴ (at last)

11 (And they and I have every need for help for now) the Karpan and the Kavi will join in governments⁵ to slay the life of man with evil deeds, they whom their own souls and their own conscience will becry⁶ And when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge (extends unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth with me as guide and helper these shall miss their path and fall⁷), and

Bartholomae) that mā may equal smā here and often elsewhere It is well possible as the 's often disappears

¹ Notice once more the expression 'Thou hast known' so in Y YV VIII 11 the composer confides the very direction of his petitions to the discrimination of the Derty We gain from this the true sense of pe esā nau yā toi ahmā parstā Ahura's question and prayer are mighty when repeated by us because He has known what is best and what are the true dātheng for which we should ask

² This sense corresponds admirably with the connection, Ner utihāpayām:

³ Such as you—you as in the plural of majesty or as referring to Ahura and His Bountiful Immortals (so often)

⁴ 'Go forth.

⁵ Or with kings, but the Pahlavi has, avo khūāyih ayūgēnd mīn Kšk va Karapō

⁶ So the Pahlavi indicates Otherwise will harden or, if khrao dat is read will rage (against)

⁷ Inserted to shed light on the last line, so the later Parsism

in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation¹ be

12 (But for the penitent there is yet hope for all our former foes shall not thus fall as from the *Kinvaŋ* Bridge to woe for) when from among the tribes and kith of the Turanian even among the more powerful ones of the *Fryâna* those shall arise who further on the settlements of Piety with energy and zeal with these shall Ahurî dwell together through His Good Mind (in them) and to them for joyful grace deliver His commands²

13 Yea he who will propitiate Zarathustra Spitama⁴ with gifts midst men this man is fitted for the proclamation and to him Ahurî Mazda will give the (prospered) life And he will likewise cause the settlements to thrive in mental goodness We think him therefore Your good companion to (further and maintain) Your Righteousness (and meet for Your approach)

¹ I am again brought back to the Pahlavi having formerly rendered bodies which I would now put in the second place

² The Pahlavi although as usual free or erroneous as to forms gives us the valuable hint of *hengî aft for uzgen* (sic=*gayen*)

³ Here we have the clearest evidence of the conversion of a border tribe The Zarathustrians had saved some Turanian clan from plunder or annihilation and so secured their friendship These became known as the friendly people That true Zarathustrian piety may have arisen among them is of course possible

⁴ It need hardly be said that this reference to Z in the third person does not prove that the composer was not Z himself One might even say that his authorship was even not less probable on this account

⁵ Let it be noted that the Pahlavi translator gives us our first critical knowledge as to the true writing and meaning of *mehmaidi* or will scholars object that he renders in the singular? *Valrân pavan zak 1 Lekûm Aharâyih hamushak minam khûp hamkhâk Ner dhyâyâmi suddha sakhâvam*

(A voice from among the Chiefs)

14 (But where is such an one?) Whom hast thou Zarathustra¹ thus a holy friend for the great (effort of the) cause? Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth? (Zarathustra answers Aye such an one I have) It is our Kavi Vîstâspa the heroic (and not he alone but all) whom thou shalt (as in Thy prophet) meet² in the assembly, O Ahura Mazda! these likewise wilt I call (to my attempt), and with Thy Good Mind's words

15 O ye Haêza: aspâs Spitâmas! to you will I now address my words since ye discern the things unlawful and the lawful for these your actions to establish³ (firmly on its base) for you the Righteous Order through those which are the Lord's primeval laws

16 (And to the Hvôgvas would I likewise speak) Thou Frashaostra Hvôgva (whom I see) go thou

¹ Shall we regard this verse as misplaced because the subject is in the second person? It is probable (as of very many verses) that it was often recited by the composer or others in a different connection and perhaps originally so but it was a happy thought for the effect to introduce it here. Let it be supposed that this and the previous verse were arranged to be spoken by another voice during the public recital. We see that the interest is much increased by the intruding strophe.

² This passage may be regarded as recording the call of Vîstâspa to the holy work. Zu=hu need not always express the invocation of the gods.

³ Others write

⁴ Or ye take to you the righteous character to yourselves as the infinitive is difficult but in that case Khshmaibyâ becomes awkward. The translation of da as take has long been familiar.

⁵ Obviously composed for an occasion when the several parties would be present.

(forth) with the generous helpers¹ with those whom we are praying for as for salvation to the land Go thou where Piety joins hand in hand with the Righteous Order where are the wished for Realms of Good Mind where Mazda in His most honoured² home abides

17 Where in your measured verse³ I will declare aloud (the praises) not in unmeasured lines *Gâmaspa Hvôgva*¹ but songs of homage (wll I weave) with ever gained Obedience in offering (And unto Mazda) will I chant them yea to Him who will discern aright what things are lawful (or) unlawful⁴ (which I thus do or utter) and with His wonder-working thoughts⁵ of Righteousness (attend)

18 (For) whosoever (offers) sancti y⁶ to me to him shall be the best gifts whatsoever Yea of my

¹ Ar(e)d-ra seems to be especially applied and might be left unrendered

² I see no impossibility whatever in such a rendering literally in his choice-abode so also the Pahlavi indicates *tamman aigh Aûharmazd pa an kamak dên demano ketrûnêd* The question is of going and dwelling and the meaning abode is quite in point As to *var* see *ista khshathra* and compare *mazdâvara* Aside from this *vardmâm*=in blessing

³ The Pahlavi again with its followers gives us our first hint at the general meaning here What else can his *paðmân* and *apaðmânik* mean but the regularity that is the rhythm and cadence of the words?

⁴ *Dâthemka adâthemka* would be the truth and the heresy in general.

⁵ If *mantû* is taken as an instrumental (can it be an act imper?) *istâ* might occupy the place of a preterit but it looks far more like a participle, and might be regarded as forming a compositum with *vahmeng* Supply the dat (?) pers. pron. understood before *ye*

⁶ The alteration to *yaur* considered as an aorist has long circulated but seems now like so many of the bolder conceptions to be given up *Yaur* is the sister word of the Vedic *yós* and

(spirits) wealth will I bestow on him through Thy Good Mind (which I give) but oppressions will I send on him who as oppressor will deliver us to anguish O Mazda¹ desiring as I do to satisfy Your choice by righteous (vengeance) This is the decision of mine understanding and my will

19 (Yea this I earnestly announce) He who from Righteousness (in mind and life) shall verily perform for me for Zarathustra, that which is thus most helpful (for my cause) according to my earnest wish (and through my words of urgent zeal) on him shall they bestow reward(s) beyond this earth with all the mental¹ blessings gained through the sacred mother line² And these things (𐬀𐬀) didst Thou (𐬀𐬀) command to me O Mazda Thou most wise³!

shows us that some shade of sanctity may inhere in that word The Pahlavi renders more indefinitely by *yân* = a helpful blessing

¹ The Pahlavi translates or however saw *menâ* rendering *avô* li His text may well have justified him

² Bearing or is it fit to drive?

³ The Pahlavi here reports another text

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES *Askî* in verse 18 may equal verily indeed *Vahistâ* &c = the best things of my wealth will I assign to him through the Good Mind The meaning 'wealth' seems much called for here and if here, then in verse 2 *Vasnâ* in verse 19 may mean through grace)

THE GÂTHA(Â) SPENTÂ MAINYÛ (SPENTAMAINYU(Û))

This Gâtha consisting of Yasna XLVII-L takes its name from its commencing words. Like the other Gâ has it owes its existence as a collection to the nature of its metre as its matter is homogeneous with that of the others. Its metre may be said to be Trishûp as its lines have each eleven syllables and are arranged in stanzas of four.

A general view precedes each chapter. The grouping of hymns in this Gâtha has as usual little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age.

YASNA XLVII

THE BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA

As in every instance we may have here only the fragments of a more extended piece but also as ever the circumstance does not diminish the value of what remains. Although some signs of authorship apart from Zarathustra are present the later verses are not at all remote so far as the period of time which they indicate is concerned from the Zarathustrian verses and are therefore of nearly equal interest possessing the advantage moreover of affording data for estimating the progress of change.

1. The Spenta manyû here is not identical with Ahura but is as so often His spirit. It is more than possible that the memorable application of the word *spenta* to the seven giving us the Ameshôspends the Amshaspands of literature derives its origin from the first verse here before us or from lost verses of a similar character. All the seven seem purposely and artificially grouped here although His Spirit is of course not one of them. The commencing word *spenta* further attracted attention in so far as to form the theme for a sort of play upon words in the later epilogue of Visparad XIX. By means of this His indwelling Spirit (which idea or expression has probably no direct connection with the Holy Spirit of the Old and New Testaments but which as giving the designation spirit to the Ameshôspends may well have been the original of the seven spirits which are before the throne of God) by means of this

blessed spirit that is in accordance with his inmost thoughts Ahura bestows a gift upon the ideal saint (verses 4-5) upon him who works the best results for Zarathustra (Y XLVI 19) the Ratu and the prophet (Y XXIX 6-8). And this gift is declared to be the inseparable two Happiness in every particular and then both the prospect and realisation of the continuance of that Happiness in Immortality. And these He bestows not through His immediate action which no human intellect, or susceptibility could take in unaided but by His especially revealed Benevolence His Best Mind as His representative in accordance with His plan of Order and Purity pervading every moral as well as every spiritual regulation and by the exercise of His Royal Power, sent forth as the archangel Khshathra and embodied in the polity of the sacred Zarathustrian state and this as influenced in all its relations public and domestic by practical piety called Aramaiti Ahura's daughter (the ready mind). Such a revelation of the component parts of the mind and will of the Deity the simplest labouring class could understand for the moment and for some decades but all was as a matter of course soon to be overgrown with the old weeds of superstition and of myth.

2 Falling into detail and varying expressions the composer prays that Ahura may carry out His holy scheme into action by the busy hands and fingers of domestic piety and by the preached and recited words of the Good Mind from the mouth and tongue of faithful priests. So and so only would He become the Father of Asha, the divine Order and of moral and ritual regularity among men.

3 From discourse concerning God he arises as so often, to an address to Him. That Spirit (referred to in the verses 1-2) is Ahura's own for He is the One who makes it bounteous. He is the bountiful One who has created the sacred symbolic Kine the emblem and the substance of joy representing at once the possessions of the holy people and those people themselves. And He it is who in answer to her wail (Y XXIX 1-9), has spread for her the meadows of Piety as arranged in the consultations (Y XXXIII 6) made on her behalf.

4 And this Spirit as might be expected does not confine its attention to the inspiration of Piety alone. The justice of Mazda is vindicated. The wicked are afflicted under its influence with a long wounding (Y XXX 11) for their sins and for their cynical preference for prosperous men of bad and dishonest character as well as of heretical faith.

5 But he expresses his confidence that Ahura Mazda will in the end set all aright. He will unlike the persons just mentioned give unto the ashavan not kasu alone but paru (not a meagre share, but fulness) of whatever is the best while the dregvant and the aka (verse 4) the faithless and the wicked although they may be isvano prosperous will only taste the enjoyment of their wealth aside from God and therefore marred. So long as they pursue their usual course they live in actions inspired not by the bountiful spirit but by the Evil Mind, a mind as aka as the person alluded to in the words paraos (kathê) ako dregvaitê in the previous verse.

6 But, as ever the moral appeals and ascriptions of praise lofty as they are are no less without the support and service of the ritual. God will give these gifts and all which are the best but in connection with His Fire imparted to these struggling sides (Y XXXI 2) the believing and the faithless (verses 4 5) through the increase of His Piety and Order for that piety as ever the instructress will convert all those who come to her and seek her light (Y XXV 1 Y XLV 1). Now she will cause all the living to choose and believe in God (Y XXXI 3).

(If the first two verses here are more like the work of a disciple the last four show again the original one. It must never be forgotten however that later and even interpolated portions are in their sense also original and differ but slightly in their great age from pieces more directly from the first composer.)

Translation

1 And to this¹ (man His chosen saint) Ahura Mazda will give² both the two (greatest gifts His)

¹ Or to us but in that case it would be the Kine who took counsel as mentioned in the third verse. This is however far from impossible as she is mentioned as uttering her wail and being answered by her maker in Y XXIX 1 2. So understanding to us becomes an admirable rendering for verse 1 but in verse 3 it is strained as the Kine for whom (Y XXIX 9) Zarathustra was appointed could not so readily be declared to be the one which was given to us she representing us in that place to a great extent. There is a certain plausibility about the rendering to us but I think ahmai refers to ashaone unde stood (see verses 4 and 5). The Pahlavi moreover is against a first person.

² Dān (Geldn) seems to be a 3rd plural aorist subjunctive the

Universal Weal and Immortality by means of His bountiful Spirit and with His Best Mind from (the desire to maintain His) Righteous moral Order in word and deed and by the (strength and wisdom) of His Sovereign Power (established) in Piety (among His folk)

2 Aye (that blessedness which is the) best¹ (creation) of this most bounteous spirit, Ahura Mazda will bring forth in action with words from the mouth and tongue of His Good Mind (within His seers) and by the two hands² of Âramaiti (His Piety as she lives within the soul) And by such wise (beneficence is) He the father of the righteous Order (within our worship and our lives)

3 And Thou art therein O Anura Mazda! the bountiful One who appertains to and who possesses that (most bounteous) spirit in that Thou art He who for this³ (man in whom this spirit works) hath made the joy creating Kine (And as to her) for her as

p'ural being owing to the fact that Ahura gives with the other Ameshôspends Dâ might also be the relic of the proper word which represents the participle comp das (sic)

¹ The idea of the summum bonum seems to have early developed itself and from this constant use of this word in the neut singular and plural and also with anghu

² Notice once more the pronounced personification of both Vohu Manah and Araman see Y XXX, 8 and Y XLIV 14 &c The Pahlavi translation notices the dual form pavan kolâ II yadman

³ The Pahlavi seems to lead those who regard ôyâ as=a form of ava it has zak †

⁴ This is the ahmâi of the first verse (but always possibly= to us if the verses are not to be brought into any kind of connection) Otherwise it obviously refers to ashâunê* in 4 and 5 so the Pahlavi throughout See ahmâi and hôi in LI 6

joyful meadows¹ of her peace, wilt Thou bestow (Thine) Aramaiti (who is our Piety as earth considered) since he² (for her) hath taken counsel with Thy Good Mind Lord!

4 (But this Thy bounteous spirit doth not alone bestow rewards and blessings on the good) The wicked (foemen of the Faith) are harmed, and from (the motives which move) that bounteous spirit (of Thine own) O Mazda³! but not thus the saints (And yet the ruler's pride would ever slight the righteous) The feeble man alone stands free to give in kindly obligation⁴ to Thy saint but having wealth and ruling power the evil (man) is (at the service) of the wicked and for much⁵

¹ Many would say that we have here an instance in which the identity of Aramaiti with the earth is recognised in the Gathas. I would say on the contrary that here we have an instance in which a poetical conception gave rise to a later error or fantastical association. Piety with frugal virtue induced a thorough husbandry and secured the husband's peaceful home life. She gave meadows to the Kine at the next step she poetically represents the meadows and then the earth. If *vâstrai* it would be for nurture.

² Or she as she once bewailed in a colloquy. Otherwise the person who was appointed to care for her interests is meant. Compare Y XXXIII 6 where the righteous Zaotha speaks as desiring counsels (*hemparstôis*) in the interest of the pastures and the laws of the sacred agriculture. Cp also the later reproduction of the idea in an extended form in the Vendidad. The zaotar of Y XXXIII 6 may have been the ashavan of verses 4 and 5.

Voc with K₅ (Barth)

⁴ The Pahlavi gives us as usual our first surmise as to the meaning of *kâthê*. I follow Geldner with regard to it as against Haug. The expressions here are not literal.

Isvakîr connects only indirectly with *kasuski* as *kâthê* intervenes. I regard *paraos aô dregvîitê* as presenting the true ant. thesis to *kasuski* na *ashaunê*. The *isvâ* may have *ki* merely from the influence of *jingle* being at the head of the line like *kasus*. *isva* means

5 But Thou wilt give these gifts and through Thy (most blessed and most) bounteous spirit O Ahura Mazda¹ to this¹ Thy holy saint, for they are what soever is the best but far² from Thy love the wicked has his portion abiding in the actions of the Evil Mind

6 Aye these things wilt Thou give (to him) O Thou Ahura Mazda¹ and through Thy bounteous spirit, (and) by Thy Fire as in a good bestowal to

of : self possessing means Paraos may depend on kâthê understood as ka : sur depends on it expressed Moreover hâs in all the instances in which it is used ends the sense and here is separated by the caesura from pa : aos which, however is of no great importance The discourse : of the wicked the holy are incidentally mentioned and here their ill treatment is signified Ako cannot well mean hostile here see also aka : in the following verse Isvâkî : it understood with na alters nothing A man was desirous of little for the service of the saint but even when he himself was rich, (in the desire) of much was the evil for the evil Or taking kaseuski : as governed by isvâkî : understood with kâthê as before understood in the last line Only a man (men) (possessed) of little was at the service of the righteous while an evil man (men) possessed of much (was at the service) of the wicked The other translation is Even a man of little means stands to the willing service of the saint but a man even of large means is hostile (?) to the wicked This is very glib and so attractive but I cannot accept it in view of the context. Gâthic expression is often unfortunately far from glib but cramped, awkward and apt to contain more thought than could be conveniently expressed within the counted number of syllables The glib rendering needs other language than that in the MSS See the following verse which directly contrasts the treatment of the good and evil by Ahura Himself

¹ See ahmâi in verse 1 and ashaunê in verse 4 Ahura treats the saint in a manner the reverse from that practised by the nakaseur* and akô not giving sparingly to the good nor much to the wicked

² The Pahlavi gives us our first surmise here, as usual by gavi : d min hanâ i lak dôshunih

the two striving¹ (throngs) through the prosperous increase of our Piety and of the Righteous ritual and moral Truth for that (Piety of ours instructing) doth teach² the many coming ones who seek her (face)¹

YASNA XLVIII

ANTICIPATED STRUGGLES AND PRAYERS FOR CHAMPIONS AND DEFENDEES

This chapter divides itself quite naturally into sections 1-4 belong together then 5 and 6 7 seems less closely connected, then follows 8-12

1 A struggle is evidently at hand whether the same as that to which allusion is more than once made by incitation as in Y XXXI 18 with anxious expectation as in Y XLIV 15 16 or as if in a sense of victory as in Y XLV 1 or of defeat, as in Y XLIX is difficult or rather impossible to determine But with the verses 10 11 12 in view together with the disputed Y XLIX, 1 we shall say at once that if this verse was intended to connect with them an armed struggle had been expected whether the decisive one or not we need not say

The saint that is the pious adherent to the Holy Order whatever may be the result of the preliminary struggles is encouraged by a view of the end 2 But the burdened worshipper craves still further reassurance before the storms of battle come once more upon him 3 For little as the assurances of Ahura are valued

¹ Or by the two arām but compare the āsayau in Y XXXI 2 just preceding ranōbyâ so here the ashavan and degvant are mentioned in a preceding verse The Pahlavi is unvarying with patkardârânō I will not positively decide as to this point generally however the preferred rendering is in the text while on very many questions there is nearly an even balance of probabilities

² Or, chooses to herself but a causative sense may be expressed by an intensive form the Pahlavi also here bears evidence in the same sense to a causative by hēmnunēd itself however meaning only the object caused namely the belief

by the heretic to the man who understands the true relations what Ahura declares by means of His inspired prophets the secret announcers this is of all things best (he need not ask as elsewhere Y XXXI 17) 4 And whoever would hope for spiritual growth and purity must turn his mind to that word of the Deity and pursue its teachings faithfully and so at last his fears will vanish for his doubts will disappear. He will understand as the Lord has taught.

5 This verse seems a prayer to Aramuti when the long struggles shall have found their issues and the one party or the other wins the day let not that party be the evil alliance with its monarch. For if the government is set up and carried on with all the prescribed ceremonial and moral exactness of the wise Kisti if men who toil for the sacred Kine and with the virtue of those who cultivate her hold the reins of power and can so suppress the predatory raids on defenceless as well as unoffending victims then no gift of Ahura since the tribes became a nation could be looked upon as a greater or as so great a blessing as the correct Authority and the Order of the Faith.

6 For that sacred Kine as so often already implied or stated was all in all to the pious worshipper. It was she representing as she did all wealth in herds who alone could sustain the home life of happy industry. And this is the reason why Ahura had originally caused the herbage to grow for her support.

7 Urging the overthrow of the spirit of Rapine in accordance with the Kine's complaint he exhorts the armed masses to energetic and offensive valour.

8 He then vehemently although only rhetorically asks how he may use the proper prayers to rally the needed coadjutors among the chiefs (Y XLVI 9) to carry on the struggle. 9 Again he utters a cry for relief in his suspense and of entreaty for light as to the rewards which did not concern this life for its own sake (verse 1) merely or chiefly but which were spiritual blessings received here in preparation for the spiritual world. 10 When he repeats as one among similar questions four times repeated when shall the ideal men appear whose thoughtful plans (Y XLVI 3) shall drive hence the polluted schemes of the false priests and of the tyrants (Y XLVI 1)? 11 And when shall Aramuti the kindly pety of home appear, she who like the earth spreads pastures for the peaceful kine when shall she appear with holy Khshathra (later well called an angel or archangel) the personified Authority of God over home and state without which

an anarchy as bad as that of the Evil Authority (verse 5) might continue or recur and who was the champion chief who would give them peace though blood (Y XLVI 4 LIII, 9)? In a word to whom as to the coadjutors of such a leader would he light of reason, and the true faith come to inspire and to guide them? 12 There is but one only class of human combatants whom he would thus match against that Demon of furious Rapine (v 6) toward whom the evil on their part at their first creation rushed as to their leader (Y XXX 6) and these are the saving Saoshyants the vicegerents of the Immortals upon earth the religious princes Vistâspa Gâmâspa, Frashaotra and with them as the greatest among all he who was with much probability the speaker in the passage that is the Ratu appointed by Ahura for the kine and for men Zarathustra Spitama elsewhere and late called with hyperbole the first tiller warrior and priest

Translation

1 If through his action¹ in the offering of gifts in accordance with the Righteous Order (Thy saint²) shall smite the Demon of the Lie (the inspiring spirit of our foes) when that in very truth shall come³ which has been (and is still yet) proclaimed as a deceit⁴ (when it shall come) in the Immortal life regarding (as it does both) men (to bless) and Daêvas⁵ (to afflict them) then shall (Thy faithful worshipper) increase thereby the celebration of Thy praise O Lord¹ and with it blessings⁶ (for Thy folk)

2 Tell me then Lord¹ (the end) for Thou dost

¹ The Pahlavi has also pavan zak dahuno but a false gloss gives an erroneous concrete [pavan tanû i pasino] Recall adâi patîf

² See ashaonô ashâurê (sic) (Y XLVII 7 5)

³ Read as âshuta = has been pushed on enacted I correct here as seems so evidently necessary but the Pahlavi anticipates with its amat zak yamîtnêz

⁴ Pavan frîstâih

⁵ See Y XXIX 4

⁶ See Y XXX 11 savaaka ashavabyô

know it (Tell me to grant me strength and courage) before those conflicts come which shall encounter me¹ (as leader of Thy tribes) shall the champion of Thy holy Order, O Ahura¹ smite (at last) the evil heretic and when² (I ask Thee this) for this if it be gained (is known) to be the (one) good consummation³ of (our) life

3 (Yea tell me then this) for to the enlightened³ man is that the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura doth proclaim and through (the revelations of) His holy Order, bounteous as he and wise with His intelligence as well as they⁴ who declare to us (still other) secret sayings (in His name) The one like Thee (their chieftain⁵) is O Mazda¹ endowed with Thy Good Minds understanding thoughts

¹ *Meng*=mām or man *eng* is the nasalised vowel Man is suspiciously significant here mental battles is rather advanced for the circumstances It is however not impossible The Pahlavi favours mām(?) here it has avō li We might even read menā on its evidence The Pahlavi indicates the meaning crises under the figure of the Bridge which was the last great crisis to every man in the eye of the earlier as well as of the later Faith so also in Y LI 12 The straits of life would be an admirable meaning I differ with hesitation

² Pahlavi karzān

³ See Y XLIII 14

⁴ *Yaêki/ gūzrâ senghaunghô* Or knowing also those who are the teachers of secret doctrines

We may with some effort connect *thwavās* with *vaêdemnai* *Spentō vidvau* however must refer to the immediately foregoing Ahurō especially in view of the *tvem vidvau* Ahura of verse 2 The one like Thee might even as in other cases be only an oblique way of rendering Thyself but the expression with the understanding of *Vohu Manah* induces me to refer the word *Thwavas* to the servant of Ahura in this case however this last line must of course be drawn to verse 4 although not mechanically separated from verse 3

4 (Yea tell me the secret of the future struggle¹ for that enlightened man) must² follow close³ the holy Faith (for which that struggle had its toil and effort) Yea O Mazda⁴ he who would bend his mind (till it attains to) that which is the better and more holy, must pursue the Daëna close in word and action His will and wish must be consistent with his chosen creed and fealty and in Thine Understanding (which discerneth all) shall he in many ways⁴ be (versed) at last¹

5

5 (But while I as yet know not the issue I can yet hope and pray) Let the good kings obtain the rule Let not the evil monarchs govern us⁶ (but let the righteous gain the day and rule us) with deeds done in a good discernment O thou pious wisdom Aramaiti! sanctifying to men's minds the best of blessings for (their) offspring⁷ Yea for the Kine (O Aramaiti^{5 1})

¹ See verse 2

² Present for imperative as sometimes in modern languages in giving directions

³ The words are anticipated from the third line

⁴ I follow the Indian sense here with great reluctance Nanâ may well be in Iranian equivalent to each several one and in fact may not impossibly teach us the origin of the word (man man comp narēm * narēm*) The Pahlavi is so decided for a personal sense that he renders gabra nêrman=man and woman Did he suppose woman to be literally (!) expressed in the text?

⁵ Âramaiti is addressed unless indeed an instrumental is read without MSS An instrumental is of course preferable

⁶ The Pahlavi has with admirable freedom zakato hû khûdâi pâdakhshâyînîsn va al lanran zak i dûs khûdâi salita yehavûnâdô I read hukhshathra khshayentâm mâ ne dûs khshathra to bring the metre somewhat into order as some gross irregularity is present the caesura only not the sense is affected by the change

⁷ Or from the birth-hour on so the Pahlavi Its gloss reads [akhar min zerkhumisno av nâsîh pâhlûm]

let (Thy) toil be given¹, and may st Thou cause her to prosper for our life

6 For she will grant us pleasing homes² and, (while we live) in this Thy Good Minds longing³ prayer (to gain her welfare) she grants us likewise lasting strength (for every deed which that Thy Good Mind moves us to perform) and therefore hath Mazda caused the plants⁴ to flourish for her (nurture) He, Ahura, in the generation of primeval life

7 (Then in our coming strife⁵ let both her mortal foes be slain) Let the Wrath demon of rapine be cast down Smite ye against the envy (which would plot against our Throne⁶) O ye who, abiding by the Good Mind and in accordance with our holy Order, desire to hold that refuge⁷ fast to whose sacred bond the bounteous man belongs And therefore

¹ So Bartolomae who now holds to a third singular here leaving the text undisturbed, and explaining as an optative

² The Pahlavi seems to render comfort here using *khvârih* in that sense

³ So the Pahlavi correctly indicates by *ts arzuk Ner priyataram*

⁴ Compare Y LI 7 Are the plants here mentioned as in connection with Âramaiti in her figurative association with the earth?

⁵ See verses 1 2

⁶ Or against the blow Y XXIX 1 The Pahlavi translator here renders *padîrah î areshak* while in Y XXIX 1 he renders *î rêshkun* The variations are probably not real the renderings referring to some forgotten differences of text, or, as often he may have anticipated modern freedom and changed his text that is rendered 1 as if changed to a seemingly more intelligible form, so in a throng of similar cases This is the only rational explanation of some of his errors (He was able to render and has rendered, most grammatical forms in different places)

⁷ The Pahlavi has however *navidih* Did he read *vidhyâm* in itself a very possible text?

O Ahura ' (to save Thy struggling saint who toils with chang ng lot) will I place (that refuge) for him in Thy world

8 (And how shall I beseech Thee for this victory and gift ?) What is the (potent ¹) prayer to bring on that Thy holy Reign²? What for Thy sacred reward and blessing for my (soul) ? How shall I seek the open helpers for (the spread and maintenance of) Thy (great) Order³ while I myself live⁴ on in Thy Good Spirit's deeds ?

9 (Aye when shall faith be changed to sight⁵) and when shall I in verity discern if Ye indeed have power over aught O Lord¹ and through Thy Righteous Order (guarding here on earth) O Thou within whose (power lie) my griefs⁶ and doubts? Let then Thy saving prophet find and gain aright (for) my delight⁷ Thy Good Mind's wonder

¹ Compare *amavanteim aêshem* also *peresâ nau yâ tôi êhmâ paistâ*. Observe that the Pahlavi translator distinguishes the two senses of *istî*. In Y XLVI 2 he transcribes the Gâthic word the Persian rendering *hezanah*, Ner *puṇyalakshmîm* here however he has *Kadâr lak Aôharmazd zak ı sapîr khvahrîs ũ khûzâyih*

² Compare verse 5

³ *Ashâ* might certainly equal *aôsha* here (so Bartholomae) if the constant and intentional repetition of the name and idea of *Asha* = the personified Order would not have caused confusion

⁴ The Pahlavi translator renders a word which occupied the place of *gavarô* by *yakhsenunîdârih*. Ner following as to root (freely as to form) As he however renders related forms elsewhere by *livu g* live our only safe conclusion is that he had a different word from *gavarô* (*givarô*) before him in his MS

⁵ Compare Y XXVIII 6

⁶ I am very far from certain that we do not seriously blunder in not following the indication of the Pahlavi here. See remarks Y XXXII 16

⁷ Or let me enjoy as my own but *môî* is difficult. *Ûââm* might otherwise be a first personal form in the sense of the Vedic *û*

working grace¹ yea let Thy Saoshyant see how gifts of recompense may be his own

10 When Mazda! shall the men of mind's perfection come²? And when shall they drive³ from hence the soil of this (polluted) drunken joy⁴ whereby the Karpans with (their) angry zeal would crush us⁵, and by whose inspiration the tyrants of the provinces (hold on) their evil rule⁶?

11 Yea when shall our perfected Piety appear

Bartholomae's third singular imper is also of course well possible but were not the originally abnormal third singulars in *ām duhām saām vidam* taken over from third pl subj 'ām really equalling the nasal vowel merely*? Comp also Indian *ádrysram abudhram asrīgram* Zend *vavazirem am=an* Tradition has Pahl *zīvisnih Ner givtm Per zīstan* for *uām* as if rendering enjoyment experience of life * (*ām=tām* is more difficult)

¹ Comparing *vapus* otherwise with the Pahlavi knowing the destruction (of the evil) which Vohuman works see Y XXIX 6 where the rendering of the Pahlavi is supported by the previous verse

² Comp Y XLVI 3 *Kīdā Mazda frarente**—*saoshyantām khratavo?*

³ Compare Y XXXI 15

⁴ Is Soma intoxication here referred to? And was the Haoma worship in abeyance at the time? The Pahlavi seems to have understood magic here and in the evil sense that is judging from the perhaps later gloss. Aside from the gloss however the Pahlavi may well have been *nay* more probably was intended to be read *madih as=madahya*

⁵ As to this word we cannot do better than follow Justi (although his work is now a score of years old) The Indian *varpas* in the sense of deceit has also been compared. The last Pahlavi translator was probably confused by finding this word as so often divided in his MS. He rendered as best he could, or rather he handed down the shattered documents or oral teachings of his predecessors with his own too often lame additions the whole mass being rich in the relics of the truth

⁶ See verse 5

together with¹ Thy Righteousness? When shall she come as having the amenities of home for us and provided (like our land) with pastures (for the kine)? And who shall give us qu² et³ from the cruel (men) of evil life and faith? To whom shall Thy Good Mind's sacred wisdom come (to guide them in their toil to rescue and avenge us)?

12 (To whom? The answer lieth near) Such shall be the Saviours of the Provinces and they who through Thy Good Mind's grace shall go on hand in hand with mental keenness⁴ (as it spreads among Thy saints) by the doing every deed of Thy commandment O Ahura! through the help of and in accordance with Thy Holy Order for such as these are set (for us) as steadfast foes of hate!

YASNA XLIX

REVERSES AND HOPES HONOUR TO FRASHAOSTRA AND OTHER CHIEFS

The chapter divides itself naturally into sections 1-5 6-11 Verse 12 belongs with chapter L One of the struggles in the holy cause seems to have gone against the party of Asha I say one

¹ Ma' following Ashâ shows that we may also have the preposition in pôî ma'

² As Âramaiti is here spoken of as having pasture that is as inspiring the thrifty husbandmen who cultivate the meadows by irrigation or drainage she became associated herself with those meadows and so later with the earth see Y XLVII 2

³ The Pahlavi sees in râmam enforced quiet not from but to the wicked who shall deal the finishing blow to the wicked?

⁴ So also the Pahlavi shnâsindâîh

of the struggles for from the account of a reverse which we have here and from that of a success which meets us in chapter XLV 1 and again from reverses in XLVI 1 2 &c, we naturally conclude that the cause saw many vicissitudes in which the last Gâtha still leaves us. Whether Y XLV 1 records a victory which was subsequent to the reverse before us referring to a battle alluded to in Y XLIV 14 15 also possibly anticipated in Y XXXI can never be decided. the order of the statements in the sequence of our present MSS has little or nothing to do with the possible order of the events

1 A border chief *Bendva* by name had proved himself too formidable (*mazistô*) for the moment and the holy Faith knows how to beg for vengeance on the armed *Drûg* worshipper. The weapons of Ahura were not spiritual only any more than those of Israel were or those of Mohammed. The death of an armed religious enemy was devoutly to be desired for every moral and political as well as for every personal reason. 2 For judicial as well as priestly decisions hung on the issue. And this *Bendva* had his functionaries and a system and they were in full and active operation. And this was beyond a doubt a rival and settled system and not merely an upstart and insurrectionary one. It had caused the true prophet many an hour of thought as well as anger. Its functionaries gave him pause (*mânayenti*). Falsity in religion was as ever his opportunity and invective follows. The priestly judge himself who served the *Drûg* worshippers was a cheat. The holy Order was his foe and not his helper. And he did not contribute at all to the spread of Piety as the Zarathustrians conceived of it nor indeed really in another sense for the reason that he even repudiated the source of pious wisdom which is holy counsel. 3 But however the evil functionaries might resort to subterfuge and strategy the opposing powers themselves the Righteous Order on the one side and the power of the Lie demon on the other were planted in the opposing systems with dualistic clearness to benefit or injure. There was no compromise, as doubtless the *Drûg* party may have wished.

And so the poet cries once more for the divine Benevolence to be his guardian, or perhaps he may have intended a particular chief who represented the Good Mind while at the same time he swept the entire throng and company who adhered to the Lie demon with his interdict away from his consideration. 4 He declares them closely allied to the *Daêva* worshippers or else he puts their worship of the *Daêvas* in the place of climax as their

highest offence not failing to point out what should conciliate sympathy with him always that is that those who brought the Daêvas and opposed Asha were the devotees of Rap ne (aeshmem vareden) for murderous rapine seems to have been apart from Asha, the universal sin. By this these Daeva worshippers gained a stolen livelihood and spent their ill gotten means in idle waste (fshuyasfi afshuyantô) 5 But he who defended the holy Daêna was as meat and drink to the people wise and faithful as a settled citizen and trained in the habits of the holy State

6 He therefore pays once more for right discernment as to how he may propagate the Faith 7 And he calls on the steady citizen to listen beseeching God Himself to give an ear, and to tell him who the faithful prince or peer or villager may be, who may take the lead (see sars) in giving forth (see srâvayaêmâ) that holy Daêna with its frasasti to the masses who await it 8 But he asks the question as if only to give emphasis to his naming chief and venerated friend Frashaostra is the man He is he one fitted for the hearing apt to proclaim the truth (fr srâidyâi erethwô) And he begs that they both (compare Y XXVIII 9) may be lastingly prominent in that holy Realm which is to counteract the depraved polity whose chief had for the moment gained the upper hand (verses 1, 2) 9 But the case is in so far uncertain and undecided, that he cries for help once more to the ideal citizen himself fearing that he may yet be induced to share the power with the heretic and still declares that men's souls may reach the reward of priority only through the holy System of Ahura and under the rulers of His choice

10 He therefore confides the result to Ahura and with it his dependents those living and those dead And his thoughts being turned to heaven (11) they also revert as if by antithesis (the key note of the Daêna) to future retribution Those who may be wavering half inclined to adhere to the opposing party (verse 9) are warned in words of peculiar meaning Those that choose the evil sovereign a dussasti as in Y XXXII 9, 10 as the sasters of Y XLVI 1 will not go forward with the saints to the Kinvat (Y XLVI 10), no will they be met by their consciences under pleasing images and later by the souls of saints who had gone before but the wicked dead shall meet them in the home of Lies with poisoned food and sneering words And this shall be a self inflicted vengeance

Translation

1 *Bendva*¹ has ever fought with me (yea since he first appeared at hand to threaten and alas to his advantage in the strife) He is the most powerful (in brutal might) and (in his predominance) would crush my strength as I seek to win back the disaffected (in my host) through Righteous² (zeal) O Mazda! Come then with gifts of (vengeful³) good to (meet) my sorrow⁴ Through (Thine in spring) Good Mind obtain (for me⁵) that (*Bendva*'s) death⁶!

2 (Aye he is indeed the greatest) for that

¹ If this word does not simply mean 'band' one might suspect a relation of root with *bānaya* n. The Pahlavi has expressively and freely *badtum* here and *vimarh* in the next verse with a like word in Y XXX 6. This enemy may have been roughly dubbed 'the polluted or even diseased one' analogous occurrences are not wanting.

² I cannot agree to rendering *asha* really when applied in an evil sense. The sacred word may mean really when applied to the righteous but then in that case the reality indicated has an element of sanctity in it and that of no low order. I am also not aware that *ritēna* is applied in an evil sense in the *Rig veda*. The use of *Asha* like that of *Vohu Manah* and *Khshathra* &c. is obvious in the Gāthā the six sacred words were, like the theme of a symphony brought in at every opportunity with all shades of meaning from those of proper names to those of adverbs. With slight change of text to a noun we might render 'He who seeks to please the evil minded O Thou A.!'.

³ Comp Y XXXIII, 2.

⁴ I cannot agree that *arapā* should be read *rapā* for the sake of a syllable in the metre. The line has more than eleven syllables here, as the Vedic *Trishūp* often has. Moreover the ancient writing before the Pahlavi translator read likewise *arapā*, and the sense demands it.

⁵ Or 'may I obtain

⁶ See Y LIII 9

⁷ See the first verse

Bendva's evil judge do he cause me to hesitate and ponder (in my earnest course of propagation and reform) a deceive as he is (estranged) from the Righteous Order and receiving¹ from it (not happiness) but many a wound. The bountiful and perfect Piety he has not maintained nor strengthened for this² land nor questions with Thy Good Mind hath he asked³ (to gain him light) O Lord!

3 But (all is not yet lost!) for this religious choice⁴ (our holy creed for which our last lost battle has been fought) O Mazda! Thy blessed Order (our guardian help) has yet been set to save and bless us. (But) for (that evil) judge, the Demon of the-Lie (is set) to deal (for him) her wounds⁵. Therefore do I pray (the more) for the sheltering leadership of Thy Good Mind (within our folk and our commanders). And all the allies of the wicked I abjure⁷.

4 They who with evil scheme and will shall cherish and help on the Wrath of Rapine and with her Rama⁸ and (not by silent favour but) with their

¹ I would gladly accede to a subjunctive and singular intensive here in a causative sense but a 3rd singular precedes and a 3rd singular follows. I cannot therefore recognise a subjunctive in a precative or imperative sense here. I think the word is a nominative as its position in the verse corresponds well to that form. It may mean 'delivering against us many a wound'.

² Possibly 'for us in (this) land'.

³ Comp. Y XLIV 13.

⁴ Comp. Y XXX 2.

⁵ See *mazistô* in the first verse.

⁶ The Pahlavi *mîn reshînêd pa an Drug*.

⁷ The Pahlavi translator gave as our first rendering here *Andarg harvîsp gûnô darvandâno mun hamkhâkîh andarg yema e lûnam* [aigh min dôstîh levatman valmansân gavîzâk yehe vunam].

⁸ The Pahlavi has *ai êshko* = envy.

very tongues whose will and wish¹ (run) not with good but evil deeds These settle and support the Daêvas (in their power not the Lord) It is² the wicked's Faith and Insight (so to do Their faith is the perverted)

5 But he O Mazda¹ is our abundance and our fatness³, who (will yet dare these unbelieving foes) and guard the Faith (against that envious Wrath⁴), and with the Good Minds power For every man of Piety is a wise citizen⁵ in accordance with the holy Order, and so are all who are (in truth) within Thy Realm O Lord¹

6 And now will I beseech of You O Mazda, and Righteousness (within Thy Mâthra) speaks⁶ (to tell me) what lies within Your will's intention that (having discerned Your Insight as the enlightened

¹ The Pahlav gave us our first surmise as to the general meaning of *vâs* it renders *kamâh*

² Or by that which is the evil's Faith

³ The Pahlav translator gave us our first general indication here as elsewhere he has *shirînîh* and *karpîh*. Reading *Mazdau*, we have Mazda is our source of) abundance and refreshment.

⁴ See the fourth verse

⁵ The Pahlav has however *khûp shînasakîh* I suffer with hesitation possibly views may be harmonised

⁶ Compare Y XXIX 3 where Asha answers I cannot well accept *mrût* as an infinitive Geldne has keenly pointed out that *raêshya* is inclined to unite with an infinitive but so are other forms of *ish* and *vâs* Moreover the infinitive does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gathic or Vedic (See above note on Y XXXIV 1) If an infinitive is insisted upon (so long since) let us at least bring the word into more usual shape using the Pahlavi translator as in one of his most valuable offices as an indirect evidence where his translation is at fault as a rendering He nûs Frâzo avo zak î Lekum farm-yêm Auharmazd va Asha vahîrôk rai yernalelûnam He had *mrûtê* before him which might be an infinitive

ever must) I may as well discern ar ght how we can herald forth those (truths), and that pure Daëna (with them) which is the Faith of Him who is Thy self¹ O Lord

7 And (as we speak it forth² as taught by Asha) then let the (zealous³ citizen) give heed and with Thy Good Mind O Ahura Mazda⁴ Yea let him give ear in accordance with (the dictate of) the Holy Order and do Thou hear alike as well⁵ Who shall be the ally and who the kinsman lord himself who with his gifts and (legal rules) shall institute and set le for the serving mass a worthy praise (for God⁶)?

8 (And I do not ask n vain for such an one is found for us and near at hand) To Frashaostra hast Thou given that most favouring guardian power the headship⁷ of the Holy Order (for us), O

¹ I thinl that khshmâvatô equals simply yourself here as often (so mava it=me) otherwise of your disciple which would be feeble Professor Jolly has V S s 97 damit wir ihn verkundigen mochter den Glauben welcher der euere ist o Ahura

² See the ninth verse

³ Ahura s elsewhere addressed in close connection with human beings here the human subject is half lost in Vohrman and Asha I hardly think that it is wise to charge the text without MSS A lost verse may have relieved all difficulty

⁴ Others the good doctrine or again the good repute but as to the latter frasasti is coupled so constantly n the later Avesta with yasna, and vahma &c that I do not feel at liberty to depart from that ense The Pahlavi has also vafrigarh quite in harmony with the connection

⁵ This verse is clearly an answer to the questions contained in verse 7 It is a half answer even if we render dau (dao) as a subjunctive As the question in verse 7 certainly concerns a chief of some kind I cannot see how we can avoid rendering sarem analogously We need one who gives a refuge rather than one who receives it Compare the Pahlavi and also the Persian sir The Pahlavi

with his personal authorship nor have we only such expressions as to Zarathustra and to us (Y XXVIII 7) but we have Zarathustra named as mahyazdgar sahur may he declare my regulations which could only be said without figure of speech by some superior if not by the prime mover himself. Were these verses then written by the prime mover? And was he other than Zarathustra? If so the entire mass of the Gathas was of course written by him or else their style and character may be regarded as of such a character that they could have been composed by four or five closely connected individuals. But while verses here and there are doubtless the productions of secondary persons the mass of the Gathas cannot be regarded as the work of several life-long composers. They are one work directly or indirectly. If then the present action which is especially original in its tone was not from Zarathustra the man whose heart and soul and we may add whose power were in Zarathustranism was not Zarathustra but some unnamed individual far more important. (See note on Y XXVIII, 7.) The prominence of the name of Zarathustra was in this case solely owing to the personal activity of Zarathustra supported by the social rank of the Spitamas. Zarathustra was a directly disciples of the hypothesis mentioned and nothing more. The real author of Zarathustranism was not that clear in no sense Zarathustra nor was Zarathustra and to us nor yet Vistaspa compare to Vistaspa and to me nor Frashaostra compare to Frashaostra and to us nor we may also say not Gamaspas for he is addressed in the vocative. He was mentally and personally the superior of all of them. In fact he was the power behind both intro and home and yet without a name! But in that case what becomes of Y XXIX 6-8? Is it probable that the founder of a religion (or of a new doctrine in a religion) would describe another as the chosen of God if he were not in fact supposed to be more eminent? Of course popular and merely enthusiastic religious composers were about to chant a hymn at a meeting of the religious masses would he be likely to name a person to the animated throngs whom they themselves did not feel to be the life of their religious faith especially if that person were not prominent from the arbitrary circumstance that he was the reigning prince? I do not think that this is at all probable. But if Zarathustra had as described the leading name and composed a portion of the hymns with their lost companions is it probable that he possessed a decided prominence in this matter above Vistaspa Frashaostra and Gamaspas? Was there no central poet who

composed the mass of the metrical lore dominating by his influence those who added portions here and there or was there a quaternion of seers four Zarathustras as one might say? As we have said the hymns decide it. One man's soul is in them as a composer's feelings are in his compositions or a master's feelings are in the lines of his disciples. But if there was one central figure instead of four and he is mentioned as Zarathustra and as the spokesman in many portions of the Gatha being likewise known by inference to be the composer of nearly all of them how can we account for the words 'let him Zarathustra teach or proclaim my regulations?' Can the verse be regarded as put into the mouth of Ahura as else where? Hardly, for Ahura is addressed in it. I can therefore only repeat of this verse as of the others which present analogous question in Y XXVIII (with which this chapter I stands in the closest connection) that this thoroughly original piece was composed by Zarathustra as by far the most prominent individual in the religious struggle dominating his party essentially and positively and that these verses (6-11) were simply rhetorically put into the mouth of the monarch from the exigency of the style of composition. And I conclude that Vistaspa was supposed to speak them because in the presence of Zarathustra it is extremely improbable that any one but the titular head of the State should have been represented as saying of Zarathustra *māhyā razeng ahī*.

The piece from Y XLIX 12 to Y L 1-5 joins well on with Y XLIX although the tone is brighter. As he begins with questions in Y XLVIII 8-11 after the prospective prayers of Y XLVIII, 1-7 in which he looks forward to a crisis in the armed struggle so now after the hostile chief has got the upper hand he cries out once more with interrogatives uttering the questions not of curiosity but of mournful devotion.

The storm has broken over us so he would seem to say and I have prayed for grace to know how we may administer (Y XLIV 9) the all powerful means of help the Daēna in which Thy Righteous Order is set (Y XLIX 3). I have cried to Thee for chief and peer (verse 7) naming Frasnastia Gvnaspa and the Yahi and now while I invoke you praying for what in your selection is the best (Y XXVIII 11 Y XLIV 10) I would more than ever declare that I have none other help than Thee and Thy saving Order. And he asks once more to know how he who seeks no further the sacred herds as the emblem of the moral thrust of the provinces should proceed in his allotted work. 3. Answering his own question he says that it is by advance upon the enemy he declares

that the heroic seer who pushes the holy system to the utmost verge of the sacred territory or still farther was the man to gain the Kine for the seeking prophet. 4 But in the midst of struggles he anticipates Garôdman with its prizes. 5 For they were all prepared for both worship and work since God had approached to aid His prophet encouraging His discouraged spirit. 6 Here Vistâspa is represented as intervening and he addresses Ahura literally but Zarathustra really exhorting him indirectly to continue on in his work of propagation, undismayed by present circumstances. 7 And with Zarathustra he would re-engage the other powerful helpers whom he would yoke on as steeds to gain God's praise in Heaven by passing over every bridge of trial safely. 8 Having heard from Zarathustra his metric words he will approach with them to pray and as in Y XXVIII 2-3 with hands stretched out with homage and with vigour. 9 And he looks to attain the object of his prayers by religious self control and faithful action. 10 His efforts vie with the heavenly bodies in their praise of God. 11 Therefore he will persevere and as a praise king (so the Pahlavi in one place) and he beseeches that Ahura the life-giver may help on the all engrossing cause.

Translation

Y XLIX, 12¹ What aids of grace hast Thou for Thine invoking Zarathustra (O Ahura Mazda!) to grant him through Thy Righteous Order? Yea what (aids of² grace hast thou for me as) through Thy Good Mind given (within my soul) for me who will (still) pray to Thee with praises, O Great Creator! be seeing what in accordance with Your wished-for aim is best?

Y L 1 Aye doth my soul indeed obtain assising

¹ This verse is placed here as obviously more closely related to chapter L than to chapter XLIX. Lost verses may however have intervened between it and Y I 1.

² Another rendering regarding *ka/* as a purely interrogative participle would be: Are they (toi) helpful to the invoking Zarathustra? But *ka/* too is a familiar form: see Y XXXIV 12 where it must mean *quid ibi*.



grace and which of Thy blessings is that gift to me O Lord? What saving champion is found to save both flocks and herds? And who for myself other than Thy Righteous Order and Thyself, Ahura? Tell me¹ O (ye) invoked ones! Or what of grace is there for me save Thy Best Mind (itself)?

2 (And if Thy guardian is verily to save our wealth) how shall he (obtain and by what means shall he) seek after that joy creating Kine (who is the living symbol of our peace³)? (How shall that man obtain his wish) who shall desire to see her provided with pastures for (the welfare of) this land? (That only way is righteousness) Do Thou then grant me lands (so would I ask of Thee) which live in justice in the many⁴ splendours of the sun and lands which openly⁵ thus live and which are to be

¹ I should be far from denying that *azdâ* may equal *addhâ*, but the strengthening adverb seems to me of no particular force here. I formerly rested at the simple explanation *az + dâ = dhâ = desire* exciting much desired one. But the Pahlavi translator affords an explanation which may surpass that of his successors. He sees the meaning. When I shall call upon You (that is freely being invoked) cause Thou (sic) me to understand fully. This is the emendation of some predecessors' work who rendered tell ye me *az = ah* otherwise lost in Zend. The plural follows the singular too often to excite much doubt. *azdâ = tell ye* so *zdî* is from *az* as *syôdûm* is from *as* (recall the well known Indian analogies). See also the explanation of the Pahlavi at Y XXXI 17. If a plural cannot be admitted then consider a form extended by *d*.

² The Pahlavi translates freely *bavîhûnam*.

³ The Kine must represent the people as well as their live stock. The raids concerned the owners more than their cattle. In answer to the cry of the Kine Zarathustra was sent to the people.

⁴ I can hardly agree to the rendering among people who see the sun without a needless reconstruction of the text. The Pahlavi likewise has *pavan khvârîh*, for general meaning compare *Krsha thrôî hring darsôî* not as equivalent however.

⁵ *Âskârak sti*

sought and gained by me (as conquests for the cause)
Give Thee this gift¹

2 (Yea let that joy creating one) be his possession through the Righteous Order (which he helps to bring that living sign) which (the most valiant citizen) may give to him (at once reward and charge), and in accordance with Thy Sovereign Authority (May that heroic settler grant him this gift) he who may make the (last imperilled) farm to flourish in the vigour of Thy blest prosperity the tract which lies the nearest (to the fields) which our foeman holds as his

4 (And therefore both in thankfulness and hope) will I give sacrifice to You with praises, O Ahura Mazda! together with Thy Order and Thy Best Mind (in Thy saints), and in accordance with Thy sacred Sovereign Power by whose help the wisher (heaven bound) may stand upon the (certain) pathway² and in Thy Home of song shall I (by means of these men, Yasnas offered here) there hear the praises of Thy offering saints who see Thy face³

5 And we are in readiness as well (to fulfil Your praises and declare your words), O Ahura Mazda! through Your (grace and) in accordance with Your Holy Order, since Ye advance with friendliness⁴ to cheer the speaker of Your Mâthra word with open acts of visible relief, as if with hand sent forth,

¹ The Pahlavi translation as usual not literally, exact title furnishes the correct clue *Zak i nazd sto* () *gčano min valman i dard and bakhshed [aigaz zak dēn dārsn bara j insegunvēn]*

Ō ōtaŋ vispair Kinvairō frā pereōn

Akav (compare the Indian akē) who approach, and are before evident (ashbarik) to God, and seeing Him Comp
has in Y LI 13 which has been thought a loc

⁴ See *rau*

² To *vrag*

whereby that Māthra speaker of Your truth may bring us on and settle us in weal and bliss¹

6 (Therefore will I incite him to his task the more Let him indeed proclaim the righteous way) he who already lifts his voice in Māthras O Ahura Mazda! he Zarathustra the faithful friend in accordance with the Holy Order and with self abasing worship giver of understanding or this land voice guider (of the way to glory²) let him indeed proclaim and teach my regulations and in accordance with Thy Good Mind (as his law)

7 (And together with that chief speaker of your word I would engage yet others in the cause) Your well incited and swift³ (servants) O Ahura! would I take on (as steeds to take their holy course toward heaven) gaining thereby (at last) the Bridges⁴ where

See the previous verse where the witness stands on the path seeking to reach Caroman. It seems therefore probable that *azāthre* refers to *demanê garo*.

² Compare Y. LI. I. *daunghô e ezus patho*

³ As remarked this entire piece recalls V. XXVIII. Here the monach is represented as speaking, the isely is spokesman are introduced in any other composition. We have no reason to suppose the piece to be the composition of some leading person other than Zarathustra because of the word let Zarathustra speak forth my regulations. (See page 169)

⁴ *ishô staungnaš â pat* 1. Consider a suffix *ishô*.

⁵ Here the Pahlav. *trān* 1. for gives us both text and translation *aurvatô=arvand*

⁶ Or yoke Thou, mayst Thou gair

⁷ The *K'nvaš* Bridge either literally or figuratively. Compare 'the bridge of the earth' (Y. LI.) The crises of effort or temptation are meant as the *Ā-var* Bridge was the last crisis before salvation or perdition. The souls of the good and of the evil were met by their own conscience on the Bridge and encouraged or reviled.

When the soul of the pious passes over the Bridge, the width of

Your adoration (rules and is complete) Yea I(?)
 yoke on your mighty ones and with Thy Holy Order
 and Thy Good Mind And with these may Ye drive
 on aye be Ye for my help¹

8 (And as I yoke on Your Māthra speakers for
 their course then) would I (myself) approach You in
 the (highest) deed of worship² and with these sacred
 metric feet (of Zarathustra and his peers) those
 which are leard and tamed afar as the metric feet of
 zealous worship and with my hands stretched³ out
 (in supplicating prayer) Yea You (would I approach)
 O Mazda! in union with Your sacred ritual Truth
 and with the homage of a freely giving helper⁴ and
 with the good virtue of (Your) Good Mind (in my
 soul)

9 Yea, with these Yasnas of Your sacrifice would
 I approach You praising back to You (in answer to
 Your mercies) O Ahura! and Thou, O Righteous
 ness!⁵ (the holy) actions of Your Good Mind (as
 he moves within us) so long indeed as I shall have
 the power commanding at my will over this my sacred
 (privilege) and gift (And doing as) the wise man
 (thus) may I (like him) become a supplicant who
 gains his ends

10 (Mine every wish and prayer is this) then
 therefore wha soever I shall do, and whatsoever deeds

that Bridge becomes about one league (West Mainyô-i Khard*
 p 134) Possibly the extension of the Bridge for the pious arose
 from the plural use here

¹ Compare Y XXVIII 3

² See Y XXVIII 9

³ See Y XXVIII 2

⁴ See Y XLVI 9

⁵ The Pahlav translator accept a sense of acquisition here as
 well as of desire Aêrôno z k i valman i avô hû danâk pavan
 kavahîro grîtar hômanani [mozd] I accede to its indication
 holding the gurdh era nly has such an element in its meaning

(of ritual and truth I shall yet further do) on account of, (and to make full¹) these (prior deeds of worship) yea whatsoever (holy works) shine bright² as having worth in (all) men's eyes through Thy Good Mind (whose character they share these as) the stars suns and the Aurora which brings on the light³ of days are all through their Righteous Order (the speakers) of Thy⁴ praise O Thou Great Giver Lord!

II Your praiser then (by eminence) would I be named and (more) would be so long as by (Thine inspiring) Righteousness I am thus able and may have the power And may the maker of the world give help through (His implanted) Good Mind (in my fellow servants) And may that (all) be done⁵ (to further us) which through His veritable grace is most promotive (for the cause)!

¹ I can here only follow the words as they are written the meaning is clear enough although rather advanced Reconstructions on a large scale are seldom of value

² Judging from the context we may render *argat* thus

³ The Pahlavi translator here renders as if he read *ushâ* In Y XLVI 3 he translates *ushanô* Professor Wilhelm, preferring as above still recalls the Homeric usage favouring increaser The Pahlavi has *vakhshinîdâr* in Y XLVI 3 Here *hōsh zak ī arîs lēn bam I* Not alone unde stood arîs

⁴ Your

⁵ An imperative has long been recognised in *varstām* or read Let us make that which is the most furthering of deeds to grow influential through veritable grace So perhaps better

THE GATHA(A) VOHŪ KHSATHREM (VOHUKHSHATHRA(Ā))

This Gātha consists of the single chapter Y LI It has lines of fourteen syllables with caesura in the middle

YASNA LI

INSTRUCTIONS AND APPEALS TO AN ASSEMBLY OF THE FAITHFUL

It is hardly possible that we have here a continuous whole. The thoughts however harmonise well enough and the changes give little trouble. 1 As so often the Sovereign Authority of Ahura His reign over the hearts and in the minds of His faithful worshippers is the leading theme. That sovereign Power when it is established will produce every good thing with it and repress every evil and the composer prays that he may never pause at any moment in his efforts to bring that kingdom on. 2 Accordingly as the foremost of objects he beseeches for both its blessings and its protection and names Âramaiti as the especial representative of Anura in this case to grant the Kingdom as a Realm established in spiritual wealth and whose first effect should be the glory of God through the agency of holy dispositions in men.

3 The spirit of the Daena is public and prophetic rather than occult and mysterious. The people therefore gather to hear Gāthas recited and religious languages delivered as on political occasions and all the more because the Mantras are declared to be the results of direct inspiration from Ahura. 4 The present recitations are invocation calling for the four energising Immortals the guiding Order the active Piety the inspiring Benevolence and the Power wielding Kingdom and in using these names the multitude are also beseeching by the voice of their spokesman for the Ratu, the Saostvāt created for by the King looked for by Asha himself and promised by Ahura.

5 And the men who press this prayer are each of them for the moment (*nukit*) as the Ratu himself. Wise in his homage he seeks to gain the kine like the ideal husbandman both as property and as emblem and he desires to establish the Ratu understood as a person or as the law which may judge between the two sides (Y XXVI 2) and by the expulsion of the evil give quiet to the land (Y XLVI 4 Y LIII 9). 6 Declaring Ahura to be the avenger of the highest good and deepest evil (7) he calls on Him to grant the eternal two the rewarding Immortals (not named in the former verse) but only by means of the inspired teachings. 8 And as these inculcations are effective for himself he will declare forth their threats and promises to others being repaid for his zealous fidelity in the very act. 9 Recalling the hopes of vengeance he beseeches Ahura to give forth a sign or instrument from the holy Fire which may settle the disputes by the forged blade of justice. 10 For he declares that the man who murderously assaults his adherents in the opposing interest (see Y XXXII 10 &c) is inherently and originally perverted in his motives as a perversion of the Lie and of the end of Akôman.

11 While in terms he addresses Ahura he in reality challenges the devotion of the chieftains as he calls aloud to the Deity.

12 Here a temptation of Zarathustra is narrated as in the Vendidad here dwelling on his youth then on his maturer manhood. But the verse shows marked signs of later age.

13 And the soul of the righteous is encouraged by the recorded example: he shall come off the conqueror as Zarathustra did.

14 But the Karpans (priests, chiefs) of the opposing party following the typical despoiler (as in Y XXXII) would bring the world to ruin and the creatures to Hell.

15 The true disciples will however infallibly receive the promised recompense.

16 And as for that Kisti conceived by Mazda to give the saving knowledge in the sacred verse the King of the Realm had acquired it. It will be stored in the memory of faithful priests under his care and rule and he will give his subjects a good worship (Y XLIX 7) in accordance with it. 17 A female saint also illustrious in rank is celebrated with honourable mention: she is as it were the Kisti in her person as she is named in this connection.

18 Another devoted friend arrests the speaker's eye as he stands in the assembly, (19) and still another. 20 Then as if taking in all with his view, and with an expression which shows

his identification with the people he declares that the A changels are of one mind with Mazda in bestowing spiritual blessings the chief of which are inspired words the source of their discipline and the guide of their hopes

21 And with assurances as to the greatness of the spiritual blessings implied in all that he has said he pays Ahura all the more earnestly to grant them to His elect 22 And he declares that Ahura knows and observes he mar who fulfils every command that he has uttered as well as believes every doctrine which he has divulged and that knowing Him He also marks Him as the object of His grace And he ends by expressing once more his desire to approach the Bountiful Immortals not as naming them alone but naming them as we may well suppose with a full appreciation of all that is meant by the sacred words which belong to them as names

Translation

1 The good Government (of Ahura¹) is to be chosen (among all wished for things²) as that lot which most of all brings on (our happiness) Actions that oppress us it opposes³ through the holy Order (which pervades it) and with the pious zeal (of its true servants) Therefore O Great Creator¹ let me

¹ It is far better to take Khshathra in its usual and often necessary sense And it is especially desirable not to confound it with shoithra=kshétra

² The choice one

³ One is somewhat inclined to regard vidushemnâs as a monstrous form of v d which has crept into the text under the influence of the two words vidushê in verse 8 and owing to an attempt to fill out the metre the original word having been videm nâs The Pahlavi gives no indication except for a form of dût=to give Leaving the MSS intact, I compare dush+vi

I render as above on the principle that the text in the MSS should not be violated where it is possible to translate it at all Reading v d emnâs we might render that kingdom's privileges are shared (it is entered and penetrated) by men who act (by actions) in a manner to further its security (by actions gaining it)

produce and help bring on (that Sovereign Power) which is the best for us at every present hour

2 And first I will ask for¹ these two blessings of Your own O Thou Great Creator and thou His Righteous Order¹ and I also ask of thee Our Piety (personified as well) and grant me this Your Sovereign Rule over our desired wealth (to give and to preserve it and likewise) those spiritual blessings which are advantageous for our worship (of Ahura) through (the inspiration of His) Good Mind (within the soul)

3 (And it is not I alone who thus appeal to You I speak for all) who are guarded in the (ceremonial and moral) actions of Your (law) and by those (inspired) words (which proceed) from the tongue of Thy Good Mind (as he speaks within Thy Mathra) Yea these are all assembling (each) to hear You, of whom Thou O Ahura Mazda¹ art the foremost guide² and light

4 (And they cry aloud to Thee O Mazda¹ I speaking with them and in their name) Where is the (promised³) lord of our thrift (the embodied law saving us from the most dreaded dangers that we fear⁴ the thrift lord) of (our) ready zeal² Where

¹ I have rather reluctantly read *vêkâ* with long *e*. Having in mind Y XXX where Sp s B reads *yaêkâ* and reading *yaêkâ* here we might regain the lost dual reuter of the pronoun here as in Y XXY 1 and so render and which two things belong to thee the possession (rule) of wealth and the blessings

Roth cited by Geldner changes to *ashayaêkâ* here and in Y XXX 1, and it is certainly striking that *asrâ vêkâ* should occur twice. I render as above first as nearer our MSS and as affording a good sense

² See Y XXXI 7

³ See verse 5

⁴ See Y XXIX 1 Y XXXII

does he stand to (show us) mercy? Whitner are (Thy) Righteousness and the Bountiful Aramaiti (our Piety) approaching? From what direction comes Thy Best Mind (to inspire and to guide)? And whence (again) O Great Creator! Thy Sovereign Power (to be our ruler and defence¹)?

5 And it is the tiller of the earth who asks this of Thee O Ahura! (Thy chosen saint himself) he has asked this all of Thee striving to discover how he may gain to himself the sacred Kine (and with all wealth in herds beside). And he would seek this moved by the motives which flow from Thy Righteous Order (and Thy cause) upright as he is in actions and wise in his self-humbling worship (of that² One) who as a righteous ruler has appointed a just controlling guide for those whom He has made.

6 (And in partial answer to his question and to solve his doubt I now declare the truth) He who gives to this (good citizen) that which is better than the good³ yea He who bestows on him in accordance with his religious choice is (our) Ahura Mazda (and not

¹ It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that these abstracts are personified here as in so many other places in the Gâthas. We may indeed doubt whether the idea of personification was ever wholly absent the original meaning being likewise never lost. Professor Wilhelm prefers taking *Asnem* as an accusative how does one (do they) come to Asha. This is admirable but I am on the whole inclined to regard *Ashem* as a nominative with *fraseratus* *Âr(a)matas* &c. taking the plurals *yasô hyen* (*hyen*) as irregularly extending to the other subjects.

² So Wilhelm (by letter), taking a form of the pronoun as understood. It is difficult to suppose that the *vâstrya* could be referred to as appointing the Ratu through the influence of his devotion and pious applications. As Wilhelm justly says the third line must apply to Ahura.

³ See Y XLIII 3 notice *ahmai* as referring to *hôi*.

a false god of the Daevas¹) And this will He bestow through His divine Authority (established in preparation here) while on the withholder of the sacrifice, who offers nothing to His (cause) He will send worse than the evil (and that not here alone but) in the last turning of the creation in its course¹

7 (And as Thou wilt bestow thus graciously on him) so grant me also O Thou most bountiful Spirit Mazda Thou who hast made both the Kine and the waters and the plants (for her support)¹ both Immortality and Welfare those two eternal powers and through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine (which is revealed through his inspired words²)

8 (Yea grant me these two inseparable gifts for having them in store) I will speak for Thee O Mazda¹ because to the man of understanding⁴ one should declare for Thee that which is woe to the wicked but salvation to him who has maintained the holy Order (in Thy folk and in his soul) For he is (repaid in his deed and) rejoiced by the Māthra who declares it to the wise

9 (And when I shall speak I will declare for You that mental keenness (which reaches the decision) and which Thou hast bestowed upon the two striving sides (in Thy satisfying word) And this

See Y XXXI 17 where the faith of the dregvant is sufficiently recognised to form the basis for a question rhetorical indeed but still a question

² From this and similar occurrences of the water and the plants beside Immortality and Welfare probably arose the later peculiar identification of those names with water and plants

Compare perhaps verse 20

⁴ Otherwise, I will speak for Thee O Lord¹ for the (all) wise one should speak

⁵ Or from the two aram see note on Y XXXI 3 and Y XLIII 12

I will announce by means of Thy flaming Fire
 yea I will declare it for the bestowal of that sword
 of justice which is forged from steel¹ and wrought
 for both the worlds And for the wounding of the
 wicked (with its blade) may st Thou³ O Ahura
 Mazda¹ bless and prosper Thine (avenging) saint⁴

10 (Yea let Thy believer wound the wicked to
 the quick) for he who totally estranged from this
 (our holy rule⁵) O Mazda¹ seeks to destroy my life
 is a son⁶ of the Lie's creation and belongs to the
 miscreants (but as for me) I call on Asha (Thy
 Righteous Order to be my help) and may he come
 with Thy good blessing

11 (And ye who throng the great assembly⁷ it is
 of you I speak while with my lips I now address
 the Lord) Who O Ahura¹ is a loyal friend to the
 Spitâma⁸ to Zarathustra⁹ Who has asked his ques-
 tion of the divine Righteousness, (as he approached⁹)?

¹ Compare Y XXXII 7 *hvaêna ayangh* (lit iron)

Others see the ordeal of fire here and the bath of melted metal
 from which the righteous suffers nothing but in which the sinner is
 consumed but *râs*¹ *ayanghê* seems to point to injury produced other-
 wise than by dipping and *dakhshâ* certainly designates a metallic
 instrument elsewhere sign is however the original meaning

² So several times comp V XXV¹II 3 where the depth is
 unmistakable see also Y XXXI 18 with *ahûbis* in the next
 verse

³ The Pahlavi while not strictly correct affords the indication
 of a causative *sûdînêd*

⁴ From this verse probably arose the later association of *khsaa*
ahra varya and metal wounding and forging

⁵ As invoking Asha is in the antithesis I regard *asha* as
 understood here *Ga* seems a particle but also not im-
 possibly = *ga* As it is twice followed by *tê* (*tô*) the interesting
 change is suggested to *gatê* infin

Or a proper name

⁷ See the third verse

⁸ See Y XLVI 9 L4

⁹ See the fourth verse

By whom is the bounteous Pie'y (received and cherished)? Or who has been regarded as upright and fitted for the great cause of Thy Good Mind?

12 (Who is worthy? would I ask for Zarathustra was ever such and from earliest days He was no polluted wretch) Paederast never gained his ear nor Kavi follower on this (temptation-)bridge of earth when his body was (maturely) grown when they both haster(ed) to him with the bosom's¹ impure power.

13 (And he will be likewise victorious on the veritable Judgment Bridge for) the righteous man's conscience will truly² crush the wicked man's (spirit) while his soul rages³ fiercely on the open *Kinvat* Bridge as he strives by his actions and his tongue's

¹ Some other portion of the human body suggested by the context may be meant by *aodares*. The word looks like a verbal form *gid pl* but see the preceding *dua*.

² I render the Pahlavi of this most difficult verse as follows. Far from satisfying me is the *K'k* the paederast in regard to both of the two particulars [food and clothing] on the path of winter (far from satisfying me) who am Zarisht the Spitaman, with whom he is ha is (or where) he incites me with his incitation in my body (?) (sensations reading *astak* (?)) [that is a person comes and thus also they or he would do it to me] and this one who (is doing) [that to us] is also leading us on even in our progress in the cold [of a winter] of accustomed sin (or in the cold iniquitous winter). This verse seems a very ancient interpolation.

Haithim is an adverb its position also does not so much favour an accusative substantive.

³ So our texts but the Pahlavi translator saw *khraozhdast* (see Y XLVI 11) in his MSS rendering *khruisno yehabûno* = utter cries while his soul cries fiercely.

⁴ The occurrence of *peretzu(âo)* in this verse sheds light upon the *peretô* in the previous one. *Âkzu(ao)* seems to be an attracted form for a loc as elsewhere. Perhaps it is miswritten.

(cursing speech) to reach (and to pollute) Asha's paths (where the faithful sou's come)

14 (And as are those lost spirits, so are our foes) No friends to the creatures are the Karpans (not granting) complete (harvests) from the fields with complete (pasture) for the Kine (chief objects for our prayer) bringing woe by their deeds and their teachings. And they⁴ will deliver these (beings⁵ whom they lead) at the last (?) by their doctrine(s) in the Home of the Lie

15 But this is the reward which Zarathustra declared before (to his friends who counsel with Asna) and are fited for the cause⁶ Ahura Mazda will come the first⁷ into His Song Home Garôdman

¹ Nāsvau(20) would naturally mean reaching but the word is also elsewhere used in an evil sense reaching to harm Y LIII 7 The Pahlavi however indicates the reading nāsvau by its nasinend Does the Avesta show an original evil sense to nas = o reach? May the two nas possibly have some original connection? That *hâis skjaothnâis* means here by means of rather than because of is the more probable from the same words in the next verse and this not withstanding Y XXXI 20

² So general a term as creatures should be avoided where possible but see *ye dâthaēibyō eres ra ōm khshayās ašhavau hstâ* (v^a se 5)

³ As to the grammatical structure all depends on *sendâ* Shall we bring down *-ōi* from the verse above or shall we regard *sendâ* as in an evil sense from *sad* in *sadra*? The Pahlavi favours the former as also in Y XXXVIII 5 (Sp 15) The general result is not however affected Read as alternative No friends to the creatures are the Karpan as to perfect (harvests) from the fields (not) blessing us in the matter of perfect (cattle and fodder) for the cattle &c (*sad* in the sense of blessing with noise)

⁴ Free ⁵ Or doctrines ⁶ See the eleventh verse

⁷ Alternatives would be Ahura will meet these engagements (?) made when the reward was promised, or the reward which Zarathustra promised before Ahura came into Garôdman Ac

and then these gifts will be given you by the Good Mind (within you) and with blessings for the cause of the Righteous Order (in His hosts)

16 (And one of you the greatest has indeed attained to that wisdom which is thus blessed with a promise) Kavi Vîstâspa has reached it in the Realm of our great cause (of devotion¹) and moved in his toil by the chants of the Good Mind (who speaks in the Mâthra²) yea he hath attained to that wisdom which the bountiful Ahura conceived in accordance with Asha thus to teach us salvation

17 (And not alone amidst our princes hath sanctity been marked) Frashaostra the Hvogva hath presented a blest and an endeared form (his child³) and may Ahura Mazda who has the Sovereign Power grant her (to us) who is so much to be beloved And for the (progress of the) good Religion⁴ do ye O ye people! receive her with desire⁵, and for the gaining of Asha, (she will help the great cause)

18 Yea, that (holy) wisdom O Gâmâspa the Hvogva! these (pious throngs) are choosing through

coming to the general form of the Gâthic sentence *hoist parâ go nore na ura'ly togethe* than if the force of the *parâ* was extended *ogasa*. The coming of Ahura is elsewhere mentioned where He enters His audience chamber before His approaching saints

¹ Maga may have some such cast of meaning I have moreover more than once suspected that the origin of magian may not withstanding the *môghu* of the later Avesta be simply this maga so often used in the Gâthas to designate the cause

² See verse 20

³ So also the Pahlavi translator in his gloss *aigham bartman pavan nêrman h barâ yehabînêdô*

⁴ So also of Zoroaster's daughter Y LIII 4

Or cry ye for the gaining of Asha as in Y XXIX 1

⁵ Or reading a nominative Gâmâspa is choosing which is itself

their Righteousness as the (true) splendours of riches (these pious men who are) gaining the kingdom where the Good Mind (does) govern. And grant me also O Mazda! that which these with glad wishes¹ receive from Thy grace²

19 (And this prayer is already and beforehand heard) This established Sovereign Power the heroic (Kavi Vistaspa has given) O Maithyo mâh the Spitama. He who is wise through the Religion and who seeks (the true) lies in granting it to us yea he has pronounced the laws of Ahura our Maker and declared that which is for (our) life's actions (beyond all other things) best

20 And that gift of blessedness for you, all (the Bountiful Immortals) with one consent in sympathy to help us (are disposed³) to grant (and may they likewise make) the Holy Order (firm) for us through the Good Mind (in our folk) and may they reveal to us the words with which Piety likewise (speaks her truths) And receiving sacrifice with homage (from our praises) may they seek⁴ for us Ahura Mazda's grace

21 (Yea this Kavi Vistaspa) the man of Aramaiti is bounteous and with understanding in his words and his actions (And as a reward) may Ahura give

well possible a var is also conjugated with n but rapen seems a plural and vidō likewise

¹ I concede this shade of meaning to the indications of the Pahlavi

² The Pahlavi gives us our first indication here

³ If Gamisrô (nom.) is read in verse 18 ahmâi might here refer to him to his one

⁴ Or is them an infinitive or imperative

⁵ Seeking a dual is here disapproved by the source from which the suggestion originated

him that Righteousness which is blest (but) with the Religion (alone) and that Sovereign Power which is established through the Good Mind (in His folk) And this same blessing would I pray from His grace¹

22 For Ahura Mazda knoweth the man whose best gift for the sacrifice is given unto me and from the motive of Righteousness (and in thankfulness for all and in prayer for yet still further grace) I will worship (the eternal ones) yea I will worship those who have ever lived and who still live and by their own (holy) names and to their (thrones) will I draw near with my praise!

THE GĀTHA(A) VAHISTA ÎSTIS (VAHIS TÔISTI(Î))

This Gâtha named from its first words consists of chapter LIII of the Yasna. While its matter is homogeneous with that of the other Gâthas it bears some evidence of having been composed in the latter portion of Zarathustra's life. It is, as usual separated from the other Gâthas by its metre which shows four lines with two half lines. The first two have eleven or twelve syllables the third seems to have fourteen plus a half line with five so also the last. Irregularities seem frequent. The composition has for its substance a marriage song but one of a politically religious character.

The piece â a i v e m â i s h v o Y LIV 1 has been considered by some as susceptible of a similar metrical arrangement and it certainly looks as if it originally belonged to Y LIII. It is however

¹ I refer to Ahura supposing it to stand reading âm, I would refer it to ashu

² Comp. e Verd XIX 31

otherwise divided by Bartholomae (see *Arische Forschungen* 2^{ter} heft s 23) from the past form or *sravi* some have thought that Zarathustra was no longer living when his hymn was composed but the word may only mean (his r yer) has been or is heard. If we must how to render was needed this does not determine the certainty of Zarathustra's death. The expression Zarathust is Spitama also gives the impression that some heir of Zarathustra's office and prestige existed but even this is not decisive for a future successor may be for a time a contemporary while on the contrary the nuptials of Zarathustra's daughter with the mention of his name and the reference to her father as the one from whom her bridegroom obtained her indicate that Zarathustra may well have been still living. The later form *Zarathustranê* and *fedho* remain as the indications of a late origin than the actual period of Zarathustra's lifetime but these circumstances may be owing to accidental causes.

The style has freshness and vigour throughout and would radiate Zarathustran influence if not dulled. That Zarathustra does not speak in the 1st person has no importance whatever in the question. The piece is not of course a whole but it may well be a whole out of which parts have fallen. That the subject passes on to the old polemical vehemence in the last verse is far from unnatural. The marriage festival of Zarathustra's child must have been if without mention a political occasion and the bard would express himself as naturally with regard to the struggle which was still going on. This latter fact also shows an early date the passages referring to the struggle are strongly linked with some in Y XLVI and elsewhere.

Verses 1 and 2 form an admirable introduction the transition to the marriage occasion was however continued in lost verses. Verses 3, 4 and 5 hang well together and 6 and 7 are not at all remote from them the war ke close, although far from surprising us must have been introduced by one or more now missing stanzas.

1. As the object of the great cause next to the preservation of its adherents was the extension of its influence first over hesitating parties (Y XLIV 12) and then over all the living (Y XXXI 3) it is not surprising that the central prayer of Zarathustra should have culminated in a desire for the conversion of opponents. Even Turanians had been known to come over to the holy creed and help prosper the settlements which their king had so often plundered (Y XLVI 12) he had the more prayed that those who

had heretofore injured the holy Daëna might become its disciples by a genuine conversion 2 Having observed the fidelity of converts and original disciples the King and his chief nobles would celebrate their devotion by hymns ceremonies and sacrifices as the symbols of every moral virtue, laying down for the people the moral law of the Saviour 3 As I would be pushing rather far to suppose the Saoshyant to be referred to in *tamkâ* and as moreover according to Geldner's admirable suggestion that title may here well refer to Zarathustra it is better to accept a loss of verses and to suppose a person alluded to as the bridegroom who if not more so eminent as to merit the imposing name of Saoshyant was still at least one of his more prominent satellites for the ancient poet goes on to address a daughter of Zarathustra as a bride She is the youngest and her name is as precious as that of a maid of ancient Israel for she is called full of the religious knowledge Her husband is to be a support in holiness and she is to take counsel with piety 4 Her response is appropriate she will vie with her husband in every sacred affection as well as in every domestic duty 5 The priestly patriarch then addresses the bridesmaids and the bride with suitable admonitions to piety and affection 6 Turning now to the assembly possibly after the recital of some stanzas long since vanished he proceeds with warnings and encouragements He will exorcise the Demon who was especially the slave of the Daevas but he warns all men and women against the evil Vayu the spirit of the air 7 Charitably concluding that they would come onward as conquerors from the trials which still awaited them he next warns them against all solicitations to vice 8 Having named profane Demons his polemical zeal becomes fully inflamed Articulating with fierce delight the sufferings of the world he calls vehemently for the champion who may in alliance with neighbouring potentates deliver up the murderous false leader giving peace to the masses and he entreats that all haste may be used 9 To arouse the great chiefs to their duty he recalls (as in Y XXII) the successes of the foe and he calls for the prince who may overthrow and expel him out as if well aware that the human arm could not alone bring what on he attributes to Ahura the Sovereign Power which alone can guard helpless innocence against lawless plunder and oppression

Translation

1 That best prayer has been answered¹ the prayer of Zarathustra Spitama that Anura Mazda might² grant him those boons (the most wished for) which flow from the good Order, even a life that is prospered for eternal duration and also those who deceived³ him (may He likewise thus grant him) as the good Faith's disciples in word and in deed⁴

2 And may Kavi Vistâspa and the Zarathustrian Spitama⁵ and Frashaostia too with them offer prostration to Mazda in thought word and deed and

Some stress upon the literal form was heard and regard the expression as indicating the fact that Zarathustra was no longer living (see the remarks in the summary)

Frec

¹ I follow the Pahlavi text all it has hû âhû nad

² I follow the frst of the Pahlavi as the conversion of those formerly hostile is suggested by vîrâvâ and Fryana not to speak of the primary rendering of duserethri kikhshnu hâ The Pahlavi also has cîr nâc who is the deceived to be instructed in the word and deed of the good religion The MSS should not hastily be abandoned

That more than a dualistic entity is meant is certain (see Y XXX 3) but that no sanctity could be recognised apart from worship is equally undeniable

³ Who was the Zarathustrian Spitâma? Some change the text after the Pahlavi translation reading Zarathustra Spitama but I would not follow this evil example in a first translation of a translatable text. Why should a Spitâma who was not Zarathustra be called Zarathustrian? Were some of the Spitâmas not in sympathy with their great kinsman Spitâmas who were Mazda yasniyas but not of Zarathustra's order? One would however suppose that some one of Zarathustra's family was meant who occupied the position of his especial representative and natural successor

Yasna confessions¹ as they render Him praise
 making straight paths (for our going) even that
 Faith of the Saoshyant which Ahura will found²

(The master of the feast)

3⁴ And him will they give Thee O Pourušta
 Haeša⁵ aspid and Spitamī¹ young⁵ (as thou art) of
 the daughters of Zarathustra him will they⁶ give
 thee as a help in the Good Mind's true service,
 of Ashas and Mazdas as a chief and a guardian⁷
 Counsel well her (together⁸) with the mind of
 Armaiti most bounteous and pious and act with
 just action

(She answers)

4 I will love and vie with him since from (my)
 father¹⁰ he gained (me) For the master and toilers
 and for the lord kinsman (be) the Good Mind's bright

¹ Tree

² Recall the path made for the Kine and the way which
 Thou declarest to be that of the Good Mind.

That is will permanently found eternal

⁴ Verses have been fallen out as some allusion must have been
 made to the bridegroom

⁵ So more according to the hint of the Pahlavi and the statement
 of the Bundahish: West XXXII 5 So Geldner h. Z. 28 195

⁶ Or will not the Saoshyant the bride's father

⁷ A chieftain a protecting head

⁸ It is perhaps safer to refer this questioning to the pair but
 forms of harm with paces are also used of consultations with the
 Deity (see Y XXVIII 6) Y XLIV 13 nearly necessitates the
 wider and less concrete view here

⁹ Varan looks somewhat like a gloss but the metre seems to
 demand it

¹⁰ Her father's sanction was a reason for devotion to the man
 to whom he had given her

blessing¹ the pure for the pure ones and to me
(be) the insight (which I gain from his counsel²)
Mazda grant it Ahura for good conscience for ever

(The priestly master of the feast)

5 Monitions for the marrying I speak to (you)
maidens to you I who know then and heed ye
my (savings) By these⁴ laws of the Faith which I
utter obtain ye the¹ fe of the Good Mind (on earth
and in heaven) (And to ye bride and bridegroom⁵)
let each one the other in Righteousness cherish thus
alone unto each shall the home¹ fe be happy

6 [Thus real are these things ye men and ye
women⁶] from the Lie demon protecting I guard
over my (faithful) and so (I) grant progress (in wealth
and in goodness) And the hate of the Lie with the
hate of her) bondsmen (?) I pray from the body
(and so would expel it) For to those who bear
Vayu⁸ (and bring him to power) his shame⁹ mars
the glory To these evil truth-harmers by these
means he reaches Ye thus slay the life mental (if
ye follow his courses¹⁰)

The Pahlavi translator has sīrth here

² *Bet*=*bāz* lies certainly nearer than *bret*=*bava*'

³ See the previous verse ⁴ Or being zealous

⁵ These words do not seem adapted to the bridesmaids

⁶ *Gairi* is elsewhere used in an evil sense

⁷ I can only render thus literally "From the Drūg as a
generous guide (I) who (compare ye in Y XXVIII) (for) in me (re)
a watching guardian (I) guide as a rather a nom sing with verbal
force) increase prosperity i.e. progress, of the Drūg I pray
(forth* I exorcise) of the bond (?) (of the Drūg) he nalcious
injuries* from the body or person * *vêšê-parā* * to 3 d p

⁸ if ye bear or promote the interests of Vayu

⁹ Or evil food

¹⁰ Some line here suggests the first thought would be to eliminate

7 But yours be the recompense (O ye righteous women) of this great cause For while lustful desire heart inflamed from the body¹ there beyond goeth down where the spirit of evil reaches (to ruin still) ye bring forth the champion² to help on the cause, (and thus conquer temptat on) So your last word is 'Vayu (ye cry t in triumph³)

8 And thus let the sinners by these means be fo led⁴ and consumed⁵ be they likewise Let them shrick in their anger With good kings let (our champion⁶) deliver⁷ the smiter⁸ (as a captive in

the difficult second line but the third line might be an effort (by the poet himself or an associate see the metrical form) to explain or relieve the aw'va d second line Reading yrnâ and rathermâ, and taking genarâms in an evil sense with spasutha as a second aral ve mgh render as a question Do ye O ye twain conlpu of the Dug do ve egard promotion (as thus to be gored) But in that case ves 6 and 7 should be regarded as separated by many lost verse from the fifth verse But s not the first line regoss² It s merely an address

¹ Free

² Lit the greatness

The difficulty here lies in the first line which seems to declare a er rd in a good sense Mizdem is hardly used of retribution at must therefore be taken in a good sense The following evil re d's must be supposed o have been avoided and Vayu to be utted in triumph Vayu is used in an ev sen e in verse 6

If m' m could be supposed o express retribution then evil men and women would be threatened and Vayu would be a cry uttered in woe As to Vayu with his two natures see part II as per index

⁴ The fol'g o the e' l he c reca's ad-baomâ

⁵ The Pahlavi translator seems to me too free in rendering zahvaka (zahyaka) zarish homard It also makes a curious mixa on of letters in gēh va mar so genarām. It is of course far from certain that he had our present text

⁶ See verse 9 al o Y XLVI 4

Recall the delivering of the evil into the two hands of Asha (Y XXX 8 and Y XLIV 14)

⁸ khrûrerāmka must be a gloss

battle) giving peace to our dwellings and peace to our hamlets Let him charge¹ those deceivers chaining death as the strongest², and swift be (the issue)

9 Through false believers the tormentor makes Thy helpers³ refusers⁴ (those who once helped our heroes shall no longer give succour) The estranged thus desires and the reprobate⁵ wills it with the will that he harbours to conquer our honour⁶ Where is then the Lord righteous who will smite them from life⁷, and (beguile) them of license⁸ Mazda! Thine is that power (which will banish and conquer) And Thine is the Kingdom⁹ and by it Thou bestowest the highest (of blessings) on the right living poor¹⁰

¹ Let him rout or stir them

² Comp mazista=the strongest in Y XLIX 1 the prevailer Lt with the chaining of death the greatest

³ Fo narpîr I can only suggest the suspiciously simple nar=hero (comp the frequent na) and pi=nourish support The Pahlavi translator seems likewise to have had some such rendering in mind for he translates dastôbar

⁴ As to rigî the Pahlavi translation which is here more than usually difficult hints in the direction above followed by a word which I would restore as rêginênd

⁵ The Pahlavi translator erroneously sees bridge in pesho or is free with his tanâpûharkânô hômand See Geldner Stud 3

⁶ See Geldner Stud 54

⁷ See Y XLVI 4

⁸ Comp the Ahuna vairyâ which takes its last line from this place and Y XXXIV 5 Vahyo is a variation for vangrâus vahyô

⁹ Here I have endeavoured to imitate the swing of the rhythm by breaking up the sentences especially in the second line Literally it would be with the desire with the virtue conquering (desire) of the reprobate Such freedom as the above is often a critical necessity in the attempts to reproduce the warmth of the original

THE YASNA

IT is now hardly necessary to say that the Yasna is the chief liturgy of the Zarathustrians in which confession, invocation prayer exhortation and praise are all combined as in other liturgies. Like other compositions of the kind it is made up of more or less mutually adapted fragments of different ages and modes of composition. The Gâthas are sung in the middle of it and in the Vendidad Sadah the Visparad s interpolated within it for the most part at the ends of chapters.

We have no reason to suppose that the Yasna existed in its present form in the earlier periods of Zarathustrianism but we have also no reason to doubt that its present arrangement is as regards us very ancient. The word Yasna means worship including sacrifice. Introductory excerpts occur in several MSS and are now printed by Geldner. They are to be found in Y I 23 Y III 25 Y XI 17 18 Y XXII 23-27 Y XXVII 13 14, Ny I 2

YASNA I

THE SACRIFICE COMMENCES

I I announce¹ and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Ahura Mazda the Creator the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best the most beautiful (?) (to our conceptions) the most firm the wisest and the one of all whose body² is the most perfect, who

¹ Or I invite but the word seems equal to âvaêdhayema compare the Ved c vid + ni Comp also nî tē vaêdhayēnu and nî ô vaêdhayēm n Y I 21 22 The Pahlavi favours I invite.

² No that Ahura was conceived of as having a body proper. The name of the body is not clearly defined in the text. The body is a

attains His ends the most infallibly because of His Righteous Order to Him who disposes our minds aright¹ who sends His joy-creating grace afar who made us and has fashioned us and who has nourished and protected us², who is the most bounteous Spirit³.

2 I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Good Mind and to Righteousness the Best and to the Sovereignty which is to be desired and to Piety the Bountiful and to the two, the Universal Wealth and Immortality to the body of the Kine and to the Kine's Soul, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda that one who more than⁴ (all) the Bountiful Immortals has made most effort (for our succour)¹.

3 And I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Asnya the day lords of the ritual order to Hâvaru the holy the lord⁵ of the ritual order and I celebrate, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Savanghi and to Visya the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Vithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears and of the myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken⁶ name and to Raman Hvâstra

divinities are said to be tana mûthra havi g he Mâthra as their body that is incarnate in the Mâthra

¹ Disposing aright as to mind

² Parhavi pa vard

³ Elsewhere the Spenta Mainyu is spoken of as His possession

⁴ The Fire seems almost spoken of as one of the Amesha Spenta

⁵ Lords of the ritual because ruling as chief at the time of their mention and in this sense regarded as guardian protecting all ritual seasons and times of their class Visya presides over the Vis Savanghi over cattle

⁶ Having an especial Yast

4 I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order and to Frâdâfshu, and to Zantuma the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Righteousness¹ the Best and to Ahura Mazda's Fire¹

5 I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Uzayirina the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâdâvira and to Dabryuma² the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and to that lofty Ahura Napât apâri (the son of waters) and to the waters which Ahura Mazda made

6 I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Aiwisrû thrîmra (and) Aibigaya⁴ the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Zarathust otema and to him who possesses and who gives that prosperity in life which furthers all And I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravas¹ is of the saints and to those of the women who have many sons, and to a prosperous home-life which continues without reverse throughout the year, and to that Might which is well shaped and stately⁶ which strikes victoriously Ahura made and to that Victorious Ascendancy (which it secures)

7 I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to Ushan na the holy lord of the ritual order and to Bereşva (and) Nnânya the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and to Saosha (who is Obedience) the blessed endowed with blessed recompense (as a thing com

¹ Constantly associated together in the late Avesta

² *h* = before *v*

³ As opposed to those which might belong to Angra Mainyu

⁴ Or who furthers life

⁵ Men and herds?

⁶ Well grown.

pleted¹⁾ who smites with victory and furthers the settlements and to Rashnu², the most just and to Arstât³ who advances the settlements and causes them to increase

8 And I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to the Mahya the monthly festivals lords of the ritual order to the new and the later⁴ moon the holy lord of the ritual order and to the full moon which scatters night

9 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Yairya yearly feasts the holy lords of the ritual order I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Maidyôzaremya⁵ the holy lord of the ritual order and to Maidyoshema the holy lord of the ritual order and to Patishahya and to Ayâthrima the advancer and the spender of the strength of males⁶ the holy lord of the ritual order and to Maidhyairya the holy lord of the ritual order and to Hamaspath maedhaya the holy lord of the ritual order yea I celebrate and complete my Yasna to the seasons lords of the ritual order

10 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all those who are the thirty and three⁷ lords of the ritual order which coming the nearest are around about Hâvan and which (as in their festivals) were

¹ I should say that the suffix has this force here as in close connection with *ashyo*

² Genus of rectitude

³ Rectitude in another form

⁴ Literally to the moon within, showing little light

⁵ See the *Afrinagan*

⁶ The rutting season

⁷ Haug first called attention to the striking coincidence with the Indian In the *Atareya* and *Satapatha Brahmana* in the *Atharva veda* and in the *Râkhyana* the gods are brought up to the number thirty three The names differ somewhat however (See *Essays* ed West 2nd edition p 276 see also *Rv* 240 9 250 2)

inculcated by Ahura Mazda and were promulgated by Zarathustra as the lords of Asha Vahista who is Righteousness the Best

11 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the two to Ahura¹ and to Mithra the lofty and the everlasting and the holy and to all the stars which are Spenta Mainyus creatures and to the star Tistrya the resplendent and glorious and to the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine and to the resplendent Sun him of the rapid steeds the eye² of Ahura Mazda and to Mithra the province-ruler And I celebrate and complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda (once again and as to him who rules the month) the radiant the glorious and to the Fravashis⁴ of the saints

12 And I announce and complete my Yasna to thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son³ together with all the fires and to the good waters even to all the waters made by Mazda and to all the plants which Mazda made

13 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Bounteous Māthra the holy and effective the revelation given against the Daēvas the Zarathus-

¹ The star Jupiter has been called Ormuzd by the Persians and Armenians and it may be intended here as stars are next mentioned but who can fail to be struck with the resemblance to the Mitra Varuna of the *Rig veda*. Possibly both ideas were present to the composer

² Recall *Kakshur Mitrasya Varunasya Agneḥ*

³ The first day of the month is called Ahura Mazda.

⁴ The first month is called Fravashi. These are put for the particular day of celebration.

⁵ This was the Vendidad the name being a contraction of *vidaevâ dâta*. It will not be forgotten that the Vendidad, although later put together contains old Aryan myths which antedate

trian revelation and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith

14 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the mountain Ushî carena¹ the Mazda made, with its sacred brilliance and to all the mountains glorious with sanctity² with their abundant Glory Mazda-made and to that majestic Glory Mazda-made, the unconsumed³ Glory which Mazda made And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Ashî the good the blessedness (of the reward) and to Kistî, the good religious Knowledge to the good Erethe (Rectitude⁴), and to the good Rasāstâr (persisting zeal⁵) and to the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda made

15 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the pious and good Blessing of the religious man⁶ the holy, and to the curse of wisdom the swift and redoubted Yazad of potency (to blight)

16 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to these places and these lands and to these pastures, and these abodes with their springs of water(?)⁷ and

Zarathustra although in the present greatly later form Zarathustra is a demi-god in it and his name is involved in it

¹ The long tradition so Spiegel

² From this mountain the Iranian Kings were later supposed to have descended, hence the mention of the 'glory'

³ Observe the impossibility of the meaning 'comfort' or 'merely being here'

⁴ Or possibly the unseized the Pahlavi *agrit* (?) *Ner agrahitam* *ava* o ea may have meant 'seize originally'

⁵ Ere he (772?) seems without reflection

The *ea* of *eriviti* (?)

⁶ Shall we say of the departed saint here?

⁷ The Pahlavi with its *askhar* points here perhaps to a better text Recall *avahdatemta*, *avahdazunghô* *avrem*

to the waters land and plants and to this earth and to
 yon heaven and to the holy wind, and to the stars
 moon and sun, and to the eternal stars without
 beginning¹ and self disposing², and to all the holy
 creatures of Spenta Mainyu male and female, the
 regulators of the ritual order

17 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to
 that lofty lord who is the ritual Righteousness³ (itself)
 and to the lords of the days in their duration and of
 the days during daylight to the moons the years,
 and the seasons which are lords of the ritual order at
 the time of Hā arī

18 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to
 the Fravashī or the saints the redoubted which
 overcome the evil to those of the saints of the
 ancient lore to those of the next of kin and to
 the Fravashī of (mine) own⁴ soul¹

19 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to
 all the lords of the ritual order and to all the Yazads
 beneficent who dispose (of all) aright to those
 both heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for our
 sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista (of the
 ritual Order which is the best³)

20 O (thou) Havani holy lord of the ritual order
 and Savanghi Rapthw na and Uzaveirina, and
 Airu sruthrima (and) Airigaya, (thou that aides

¹ Meaning without beginning to the course and so fixed (?)

² Self determining not satellites having the laws of their own
 motion on themselves

The divine Order par excellence expressed in the ritual and
 the faith

⁴ No to the chief of Havani possibly in the lordship the
 time when it is especially the object of worship Thus each object
 of worship becomes in its turn a lord or chief of the ritual order

The soul of the celebrant or his client is intended

life ¹) if I have offended you and thou O Ushahina holy lord of the ritual order ¹

21 If I have offended thee whether by thought or word or deed whether by act of will or without intent or wish I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to thee If I have caused decrease ² in that which is Thy Yasna and Thy homage I announce (and celebrate ³) to thee (the more for this) ¹

22 Yea all ye lords the greatest ones noly lords of the ritual order if I have offended you by thought or word or deed whether with my will, or without interding error ⁴, I praise you (now the more) for this I announce to you (the more) if I have caused decrease in this which is your Yasna and your praise

23 I would confess myself a Mazda worshipper of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for Havani, the holy lord of the ritual order for (his) sacrifice homage propitiation and praise for Savanghi and for Visya the holy lord of the ritual order for (his) sacrifice homage propitiation and praise and for the sacrifice homage propitiation and praise of the lords of the days in their duration and of the days during daylight for

¹ Compare *Rv* VII 86 3-6

² Practised or induced neglect or omitted portions of it

³ I invite for Thee (?)

⁴ That the thought word and deed be e were more than the mere semi-mechanical use of faculties in reciting the liturgy is clear. At the same time all morality was supposed to be represented in the liturgy. The evilmán would offend in thought word and deed if he recited it carelessly or with bad conscience and as guilty of any known and unrepented sins. The moral and ceremonial laws went hand in hand.

those of the monthly festivals and for those of the yearly ones and for those of the seasons¹

YASNA II

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES

1 I desire to approach¹ the Zaothras² with my worship I desire to approach the Baresman with my worship I desire to approach the Zaothra conjointly with the Baresman in my worship and the Baresman conjointly with the Zaothra Yea I desire to approach this Zaothra (here) and with this (present) Baresman and I desire to approach this Baresman conjoined with this Zaothra with my praise³ and I desire to approach this Baresman with praise provided with its Zaothra with its girdle and spread with sanctity

2 And in this Zaothra³ and the Baresman I desire to approach Ahura Mazda with my praise the holy

Re-reading yas to its more original sense Or read I desire the approach of the various objects of worship which may be correct as we understand the genius of each several object to be invoked Aside from this a desire to approach seems quite necessary to fill out the sense here Many of the objects referred to were already present, although some like the mountains needed to be spiritually approached or indeed invoked

² Zaothra seems to me hardly a vocative here If declined as other nouns it would seem to be except orally a masculine, compare anmya zao hre below I should feel constrained to regard it here as a masc plural accusative (comp haoma)

³ If zaothrê is not a loc masc it may be used with the loc masc pronoun irregularly It would then equal Zaoth aya The letter *æ* is often simply the Pahlavi *æ* a little lengthened and equivalent to ya (aya) *æ* does not merely stand for ya (aya) but it is sometimes the correct writing for those letters (Useless repetitions are curialed)

lord of the ritual order and the Bountiful Immortals (all) those who rule aright and who dispose of all aright these also I desire to approach and with my praise

3 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Asnyā with my praise I desire to approach the Havari with my praise the holy lord of the ritual order and Savangri and Visya the holy lords of the ritual order And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Mithra with my praise of the wide pastures of the thousand ears and of the myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name and Rāman Hvasra with him the holy lord of the ritual order

4 And in this Zaothra and with the Baresman I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise the holy lord of the ritual order and Frâdat fsna and Zarturna the holy lords of the ritual order and in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach toward Righteousness the Best with my praise and with him the Fire Ahura Mazda's son

5 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Uzayetna with my praise and Frâdat vira and Dazuyuma¹ the holy lords of the ritual order and with them that lofty lord the kingly and brilliant Apām napat of the fleet horses, and like wise the water Mazda made and holy

6 And Airisruthrima (and) Airigaya the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and Frâdat vîspām hugaiti and Zarathusrotema the holy lord and the good heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints and the women who have many sons and a peaceful and prosperous home life that continues without reverse throughout the year and Force well shaped and

¹ *h* = *h* before *v*

Sometimes *Napat apām*

stately and the Victorious blow Ahura given and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures) and (7) Ushahina the holy lord of the ritual order Beregya and Nanya, the holy lords of the ritual order and Sraosha Obedience the blessed and the stately who smites with the blow of victory furthering the settlements the holy lord of the ritual order and Rashnu the most just and Arsta who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase

8 And in this Zaōthra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Mahya the monthly festivals with my praise the new moon and the waning moon (the moon which the holy lords of the ritual order and the full moon which scatters night (9) and the Yearly festivals Maidhyō zarēmāya the holy lord of the ritual order and Maidhyō shema and Paitishahya, and Ayatnrima the promoter who spends the strength of males and Madhyāirya and Hamaspathmaedhaya and the seasons the holy lords of the ritual order

10 And in this Zaōthra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the lords of the ritual order with my praise the three and thirt, who come the nearest round about our Hāvanis who are those lords (and seasons) of Righteousness the Best, which were inculcated by Mazda and spoken forth by Zarathustra

11 And in this Zaōthra with this Baresman I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra with my praise the lofty, eternal and the holy two and I desire to approach the stars moon, and sun with the Baresman plants and with my praise and with them Mithra the governor of all the provinces and Ahura Mazda the radiant and glorious and the good heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints (12) and thee the Fire,

Ahura Mazda's son the holy lord of the ritual order with all the fires! And I desire to approach the good waters in this Zaothra with this Baresman with my praise all best waters Mazda made and holy and all the plants which are Mazda made and holy

13 And I desire to approach the bounteous Māthra in this Zaothra with this Baresman and with my praise the most glorious as it is and with it the law instituted against the Daêvas yea I desire to approach the Zarathustrian law with my praise and (with it) its long descent and the good Mazdayasnian Religion (as complete)

14 And I desire to approach Mount Ushî darena in this Zaothra with this Baresman with my praise Mazda made and glorious with sanctity the Yazad (mount) And I desire to approach all the mountains with my praise glorious with sanctity as they are and with abundant glory Mazda made and holy lords of the ritual order and I desire to approach the mighty kingly Glory Mazda made and unconsumed yea, (even) the mighty unconsumed Glory Mazda made And I desire to approach Ashî Vanguhî (the good blessedness) in my praise, the brilliant, lofty powerful and stately saving by inherent power Yea I desire to approach the Glory Mazda-made with my praise and I desire to approach the Benefit conferred by Mazda

15 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Blessing pious and good, and the pious and holy man who utters it and the mighty and redoubted Curse of the wise, the Yazad

16 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach these waters with my praise and these lands and plants, and these places districts

and pastures and these dwellings with their springs of water¹ and this land ruler who is Ahura Mazda

17 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the greatest lords with my praise the day-lords and the month lords those of the years and of the seasons and the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the saints

18 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the holy Yazads with my praise yea even all the lords of the ritual order Hvāvanī at his time and Savanghī at his time and all the greatest lords of the ritual at their proper times

YASNA III

THE YASNA ADVANCES TO THE NAMING OF THE OBJECTS OF PROPITIATION

1 With a Baresman brought to its appointed place accompanied with the Zaothra at the time of Havani I desire to approach the Myazda offering with my praise as it is consumed and likewise Ameretatâz² (as the guardian of plants and wood) and Haurvatâz (who guards the water) with the (fresh) meat³ for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful

¹ See note on Y I 16

² Spiegel has observed with truth that Ameretatâz and Haurvatâz may represent severally all the fruits and the liquids offered

³ The modern Pāsis Haug following render butter but Spiegel is inclined to discredit this later tradition holding that flesh was originally intended but on its becoming disused in India milk was substituted hence the error

Gaur hūdhu in its primary sense meant of course the Kne of blessed endowment (Repetitions are again curtailed)

Immortals and for the propitiation of Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed who is endowed with sanctity and who smites with the blow of victory and causes the settlements to advance

2 And I desire to approach Haoma and Parahaoma¹ with my praise for the propitiation of the Fravash of Spñâma Zarathustra the saint And I desire to approach the (sacred) wood with my praise with the perfume for the propitiation of thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son¹

3 And I desire to approach the Haomas with my praise for the propitiation of the good waters which Mazda created and I desire to approach the Haoma-water and the fresh milk with my praise and the plant Hadhanacpata offered with sanctity for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda made

4 And I desire to approach this Baresman with the Zaotkra with my praise with its binding³ and spread with sanctity for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals And I desire with (?) my voice the thoughts well thought and the words well spoken and the deeds well done and the recital of the Gâthas as they are heard And I desire to approach the well said Mithras with my praise and this (higher) lordship with this sanctity and this exact regulation⁴ (of the Ratu) and the reverential prayer for blessings (spoken at the fitting hour), and I desire to approach them for the contentment and propitiation

¹ The Hion a juice

² So better than fresh treat Fluids are the chief objects of attention here

³ With its girdle

⁴ Anghuyam—rathwâm stand related as ahû and ratu so also the Parlav ahforh and razih and Ner svâmitamka gurutâmka

of the holy Yazads heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of each man's soul

5 And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise the lords of the ritual order, and the Hâvani and Savanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order And I desire to approach with the Yast¹ of Mithra of the wide pastures of the thousand ears of the myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Râman *Hvâstra*

6 And I desire to approach Rap thwina with my praise the holy lord of the ritual order and Frâdat'shi and Zantuma and Righteousness the Best and Abura Mazda's Fire

7 And I desire to approach Uzayetirina and Frâdat'sira and Dahuvuma* with my praise with that lofty Ahura Napat apârm and the waters Mazda made

8 And Atwisruthrima, and Aibigaya and Frâdat-vîspârm hugaiti and Zarathustrotema with the Yast of the Fravash's of the saints, and of the women who have many sons and the year long unchanged prosperity and of Might, the well shaped and stately smiting victoriously Ahura made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures)

9 And I desire to approach Ushahina Beregya, and Nmanya with the Yast of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred the holy, who smites with the blow of victory and makes the settlements advance and with that of Rashnu the most just and Arstât

¹ Yesti seems used of an especial Yast here and subsequently as genitives intrude among datives the form possibly taking the place of the words for the propitiation of the Yast X may be referred to

² Yast XIII

who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase

10 And I desire to approach the monthly festivals the lords of the ritual order and the new moon and the waning moon and the full moon which scatters light

11 And the yearly festivals Maidhyô zaremaya Maidhyô shema Paushahya and Ayathrima the breeder who spends the strength of males and Maidhyairya and Hamaspathmaedhaya and the seasons lords of the ritual order (12) and all those lords who are the three and thirty who approach the nearest at the time of Hâvanî who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda and pronounced by Zarathustra, as the feasts of Righteousness the Best

13 And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra the lofty and imperishable two, the holy and with the Yast of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu and with the Yast of the star Tistrya, the radiant the glorious and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun the eye of Ahura Mazda and of Mithra province lord of the provinces and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant the glorious and with that of the Fravashis of the saints (who rule this month)

14. And with thy Yast the Fires, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires and to the good waters with the Yast of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made

15 And I desire to approach with the Yast of the

Mathra Spenta the holy the effective the law composed against the Daêvas the Zarathustrian and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave

16 And I desire to approach with the Yast of Mount Ushî darena Mazda made and of all glorious with sanctity and abundant in brilliance and with that of the K ngly Glory Mazda made yea with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made and with that of Ashi Vangi hî and Kîstî Vanguhî and with that of the good Erehe and the good Rasâsta/ and the good Glory and of the Benefit which Mazda gave

17 And I desire to approach with the Yast of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise the Yazad curse (18) and to these places regions pastures and abodes, with their water springs and with that of the waters and the lands and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven and with that of the holy wind and of the stars moon and sun and with that of the stars without beginning self-determined and self moved and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spenta Ma nyu male and female regulators of the ritual order (19) and with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual) and with that of the days in their duration and of the days during daylight and with that of the monthly festivals and the yearly festivals and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvanî

20 And I desire to approach the meat-offering with a Yast and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretata/ (who guards the plants and wood) with

the Yast of the sacred flesh for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the mighty whose body is the Māthra, of him of the daring spear the lordly the Yazad of the spoken name

21 And I desire to approach both Haoma and the Haoma juice with a Yast for the propitiation of the Fravashī of Zarathustra Spitama the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name And I desire to approach the wood billets with a Yast with the perfume for the propitiation of thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son¹ the Yazad of the spoken name

22 And I desire to approach with a Yast for the mighty Fravashis of the saints the overwhelming the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and of those of the next of kin

23 And I desire to approach toward all the lords of the ritual order with a Yast, toward all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (set) for worship and for praise because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best)

24 I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathustra's order a foe to the Daēvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for Hāvanī the holy lord of the ritual order for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise and for Sāvanghī and Vīsyā the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and for the sacrifice homage propitiation and praise of the day lords of the days in their duration and of the days during daylight and for the month regulators and the year regulators and for those of the (several) seasons for their sacrifice and homage their propitiation and their praise

(The Zaothr speaks¹) As the Ahû to be

¹ So at least the rubric One would think that the sentence was intended to be dictated to the Ratu to be repeated that is if the

(revered and) chosen let the priest speak¹ forth to me

(The Ratu responds) As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen let him who is the Zaothar speak¹ forth to me

(The Zaothar again) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness holy and learned speak forth¹

YASNA IV

THE OFFERING TAKES PLACE

1 These good thoughts good words and good deeds² these Haomas meat offerings and Zaothras this Baresman spread with sanctity this flesh and the two, Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Amereatatât (who guards the plants and wood) even the flesh the Haoma and Haoma juice the wood billets and their perfume, this sacred lordship³ and chieftainship³ and the timely prayer with blessing and the heard recital of the Gathas and the well said Mâthras these all we offer and make known with celebrations (here)

2 Yea these do we announce with celebrations and we present them to Ahura Mazda and to Sraosha

rubric is correct. The sentence as uttered by the priest seems difficult

¹ Present or infinitive for imperative (?)

² The fact that somewhat of a more technical *sumati sukta sukrita* adheres to these expressions in this place must not for a moment induce us to suppose that their deeper meaning was lost. All good thoughts words and deeds culminated in the ritual as in an enlightened high ecclesiasticism. They were nourished by it and not lost in it. (Expressions are here varied)

³ The prominence and supremacy of each deity or genius while he is especially the object of worship in the ritual order the expressions being taken from the Ahuna variety

(Obedience) the blessed and to the Bountiful Immortals and to the Fravashis of the saints and to their souls and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda the lofty lord of the entire creation of the holy for sacrifice homage propitiation and praise

3 Yea further we present (them to the Bountiful Immortals with an especial gift) these thoughts well thought these words well spoken these deeds well done these Haomas Myazdas Zaothras, and this Baresman spread with sanctity the flesh and Haurvata/ (who guards the water) and Ameretata/ (who guards the plants and wood) even the flesh Haoma and Parahaoma the wood billets the perfume and this their lordship and their sanctity and this chieftainship this prayer for blessing the heard recital of the Gathas and the well said Mathras

4 We offer with our celebrations and we announce them (of a verity) to the Bountiful Immortals those who exercise their rule aright and who dispose (of all) aright the ever living ever helpful the male divinities among their number who dwell with the Good Mind¹ [and the female² ones as well]

5 And we announce them in our celebrations as more propitious for this house³ and for the furtherance of this house of its herds and of its men of those now born and of those yet to be born the holy yea for the furtherance of that house of which these (men) are thus

6 And we present these offerings to the good

¹ Vohu Manah Ash and Khshathra
Aram itū Haurvata/ and Ameretata

² It would seem that the Yasna must have been at the time held at or in the houses of the worshippers. Hence perhaps some of the priests were pagans

Fravashs of the saints who are mighty and overwhelming for the succour of the saints

7 Yea we present these hereby to the Creator Ahura Mazda the radiant the glorious and the heavenly spirit, for the sacrifice homage propitiation and praise of the Bountiful Immortals (all)

8 And we present these hereby to the Day lords of the ritual order to Havani to Savanghi and to Visya the holy lords of the ritual order for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise and to Mithra of the wide pastures and the thousand ears and the myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name

9 And to Rapithwina Frâdat fshu and Zantuma the holy lords of the ritual order and to Righteousness the Best and to Ahura Mazda's Fire

10 And to Uzayêirina Frâdat vira and Dahv yuma¹ the holy lords of the ritual order and to that lofty lord Napât apâm and to the water Mazda made

11 And to Airisruthrima the life furtherer and to Fradat vîspâm hugyaiti and Zarathustrotema the holy lords of the ritual order and to the Fravashis of the saints and to the women who bring forth many sons and to the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year and to Force well shaped and stately and to the Blow of victory which Mazda gives, and to the Victorious Ascendency which it secures for their sacrifice homage their propitiation and their praise

12 And to Ushahina with Beregya and Nmânya and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed smiting with the blow of victory and furthering the settlements and to Rashnu the most just and to Arstât furthering the settlements and causing them to increase

¹ Dahyuma

² Air gaya.

13 And these we announce and we present hereby to the Month lords of the ritual order to the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and to the full moon which scatters night the holy lord of the ritual order for (their) sacrifice homage their propitiation and their praise

14 And these we announce hereby and we present to the Yearly festivals, to Mâidhyô zaremayâ Mâidhyo shema Patishahyâ and to Ayâtnrîmâ to Mâidhyâirya Hamâspathmaêdnayâ and to the Seasons as holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage propitiation and for praise

15 And these we announce and we present hereby to all those lords who are the three and thirty lords of the ritual order who approach the nearest around about our Havani and which are the festivals of Righteousness the Best inculcated by Mazda and uttered forth by Zarathustra for their sacrifice homage propitiation and praise

16 And these we announce and we present to Ahura and to Mithra, the lofty and imperishable and holy two to the stars the creatures of Spenta Mainyu and to the star Tistrya the radiant the glorious and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle and to the resplendent Sun of the swift horses Ahura Mazda's eye and to Mithra the lord of provinces for their sacrifice homage their propitiation and their praise yea these we present hereby to Anura Mazda (as he rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (as they rule this month) for their sacrifice homage, their propitiation and their praise

17 And these we announce hereby to thee the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son¹ with all the fires for

thy sacrifice homage propitiation and praise and to the good waters for the sacrifice homage, propitiation, and praise of all the waters Mazda made and to all the plants which Mazda made

18 And to the *Māthra Spenta* the holy the effective the law against the *Daêvas* the Zarathustrian statute and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian religion

19 And these we announce and we present hereby to Mount *Ushî-darena*, Mazda made, brilliant with sanctity and to all the mountains shining with their holiness abundantly luminous and Mazda made and to the Kingly glory the unconsumed¹ glory Mazda made and to the good Blessedness and the good Religious knowledge and the good Rectitude and to the good *Rasāstāt* and to the Glory and the Benefit which Mazda created

20 And these we offer and present to the pious and good Blessing of the pious and to the swift and dreadful *Yazad* the Curse of wisdom

21 And to these places pastures and dwellings with their springs of water their rivers to the lands and to the plants to this earth and yon heaven to the holy wind to the stars moon and sun to the stars without beginning self disposed and to all the holy creatures of the *Spenta Mainyu* male and female (the rulers as they are or the ritual order)

22 And these we announce and we present hereby to that lofty lord who is *Asha*, the ritual righteous ness itself to the Day lords and the Month lords the Year-lords, and the Seasons who are the lords of the ritual at the time of *Havan* and for

¹ Unseized (?)

their sacrifice homage their propitiation and their praise

23 Yea these we announce and we present to Sraosha the blessed and mighty whose body is the Māthra him of the daring spear the lordly one and to the holy Fravasnī of Zarathustra Spitama the saint

And these we announce and we present to thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son¹ for thy sacrifice homage thy propitiation and thy praise

24 And these we announce and we present to the Fravashs of the saints the mighty and overwhelming of the saints of the ancient lore and of the next of kin

25 And these we announce and we present hereby to all the good Yazads earthly and heavenly who are (meet) for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise because of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best)

We worship the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright and who dispose of all aright

26 And that one of beings (do we worship) whose superior (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows and from his righteousness (which he maintains and those of all female beings do we worship) whose (higher service is thus likewise known yea all) male and female beings do we worship (who are such)¹¹

YASNA V

This chapter is identical with Yasna XXXVII

¹ Elsewhere with slight verbal change

YASNA VI¹

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH FULLER EXPRESSION

1 We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright

2 And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice and Hâvani Savanghi and Vîsya the holy lords of the ritual order and Mithra of the wide pastures of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name and we worship Raman Hîâstra

3 And we worship Rapithwîna with our sacrifice and Frâdat fshu and the Zartuma and Righteousness the Best and the Fire Ahura Mazda's son holy lords of the ritual order

4 And we worship Uzaycirina and Frâdat vîra and Dazvyuma* the holy lord of the ritual order and that kingly Ahura the radiant Napâzapâm of the fleet horses and the water holy and Mazda made

5 And we worship Aîwîsruthrîma and Aîbigaya in our sacrifice the holy lord of the ritual order and Fradat vîspâm-hugyâiti and the Zarathustrôtéma the holy lord of the ritual order and the good heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints and the women who bring forth many sons and the Prosperous home life which endures without reverse throughout the year and Force which is well shaped and stately and the Blow which brings the victory which is Ahura given and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures)

6 And we worship Ushahîna with our sacrifice and

¹ This chapter differs from Y II only in having yazamaidê instead of the formula ahmya zaotrê baresnanaêka—avêê jêti. Expressions for the same Zend words are purposely varied

Beregya and Nmanya and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the statel who smites with victory and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu the most just, and Arstat who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase the holy lords of the ritual order

7 And we worship the Mahya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order

8 And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhyô zarema Ma dhyo shema Paitis hahya and Ajâthrima the furner (or breeder) the spender of virile strength and Maidhyairya the holy lord of the ritual order and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are)

9 And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Havani who are the lords of Righteousness the Best and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra

10 And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice the lofty and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars moon and sun, among the plants of the Baresman and Mithra, the province lord of all the provinces even Ahura Mazda, the radiant the glorious and the good valiant and bountiful Fravashis of the saints

11 And we worship thee the Fire Ahura Mazdas son together with all the fires and the good waters the best and Mazda-made, and holy even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made

12 And we worship the Māthra Spenta with our sacrifice the glorious and of a truth the law revealed against the Daêvas the Zarathustrian law and we worship with our sacrifice its long descent and the good Mazdayasniar Religion

13 And we worship Mount Ushî darena the Mazda made the glorious Yazad shining with holiness and all the mountains that shine with holiness with abundant brilliance Mazda made the holy lords of the ritual order And we worship the mighty Kingly glory Mazda made the mighty glory unconsumed and Mazda-made, and the good Sanctity the brilliant the lofty the powerful and the stately delivering (men) with its inherent power Yea we worship the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda made

14 And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice and the pious man the saint and that Yazad the mighty Curse of wisdom

15 And we worship these waters lands and plants these places districts pastures and abodes with their springs of water and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice who is Ahura Mazda (Himself)

16 And we worship all the greatest lords the Day lords in the day's duration and the Day lords during daylight and the Month lords and the Year-lords

17 And we worship Haurvata (who guards the water) and Ameretata (who guards the plants and the wood) and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with the blow of victory and makes the settlements advance the holy lord of the ritual order

18 And we worship Haoma with our sacrifice

and the Haoma juice And we worship the sacred Fravashî of Zarathushtra Spitâma the saint

And we worship the wood billets and the perfume and thee the Fire Ahura Mazda's son the holy lord of the ritual order

19 And we worship the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the saints

20 And we worship all the holy Yazads and all the lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani and Savanghi and all the greatest lords at their (proper) time (The Yênhê hatâm follows)

21 The Ratu As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen the priest speaks forth to me

The Zaothar So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned speak forth!

YASNA VII

PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS BY THE PRIEST WITH THE OBJECT OF PROPITIATION NAMED

1 With a complete and sacred offering¹ I offer and I give this meat offering and (with it) Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretata' (who guards the plants and the wood) and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals (all and) for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity who smites with the blow of victory and who causes the settlements to advance

¹ With Ashi possibly for a blessing as Ashi often has the sense of reward but scrupulous sanctity and completeness seem to be the sense here (Expressions here are as usual varied)

2 And I offer the Haoma and Haoma juice with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the Fravashî of Zarathustra Spitama the saint and I offer the wood billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation on the Fires O Ahura Mazda's son!

3 And I offer the Haomas with a complete and sacred offering for propitiation [to the good waters] for the good waters Mazda made And I offer this Haoma water with scrupulous exactness and with sanctity and this fresh milk and the plant Hadhâ naêpata uplifted with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made

4 And I offer this Baresman with its Zaothra (and with its binding) for a girdle spread with complete sanctity and order for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals and I offer with my voice the thoughts well thought the words well spoken and the deeds well done and the heard recital of the Gathas the Mathras well composed and well delivered and this Lordship and this Sanctity and this ritual mastership and the timely Prayer for blessings, with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly and for the contentment of the individual soul!

5 And I offer to the Asnya with a complete and sacred offering as lords of the ritual order and to Havari and to Sâvanghî and Visya holy lords of the ritual order and to Mithra of the wide pastures of the thousand ears and myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name and to Raman Hvâstra

6 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Rapithwina the holy lord of the ritual order, and I offer to Frâdat-fshu and to the Zartuma, and to

Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Ahura Mazda's Fire

7 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Uzayairina Frâdaŧ vîra and to the Daŧvyuma* the holy lord of the ritual order and to that lofty Ahura Napaŧ apām and to the waters which Mazda created

8 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Aŧwisruthrîma the life furtherer and to Frâdaŧ vîspâm huŧvairî and to the Zarathustrôtema and to the Fravashis of the saints and to the women who have many sons and to the Prosperous home life which endures (without reverse) throughout the year and to Force the well shaped and stately and to the Blow which smites with victory Ahura given and to the Victorious Ascendancy (which it secures)

9 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ushahîna the holy lord of the ritual order and to Bregya and Nmânya and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed endowed with sanctity who smites with the blow of victory and makes the settlements advance and to Rashnu the most just and to Arstât who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase

10 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mahya lords of the ritual order to the new and the waning moon (the moon within) and to the full moon which scatters night, holy lords of the ritual order

11 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Yearly festivals the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya and Maidhyô shema to Paitishahya and to Ayathrîma the furtherer (the breeder) the spender of the strength of males and

to Maidhyairya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya holy lords of the ritual order and I offer with sanctity to the several seasons the lords of the ritual order

12 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all those lords who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest round about our Hâvanî and who are the lords of Asha (the ritual by eminence) of Righteousness who is (the Best) whose observances are inculcated as precepts by Mazda and uttered forth by Zarathustra

13 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura and Mithra the lofty and imperishable and holy two and to the stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu and to the star Tistrya the radiant the glorious and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle in its beams and to the resplendent Sun of the fleet horses the eye of Ahura Mazda and to Mithra the lord of the provinces And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura Mazda the resplendent the glorious (who rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (who name the month)

14 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires and to the good waters even to the waters which are Mazda made, and to all the plants which Mazda made

15 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâthra Spenta the holy the effective, revealed against the Daêvas the Zarathustrian law and to the long descent of the good Religion of the Mazdayasnian faith

16 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Mount Ushîdarena the Mazda made brilliant

with holiness and to all the mountains shining with holiness, of abundant brightness and which Mazda made and to the Royal glory unconsumed and Mazda made And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ashi Vanguhi and to Kisu Vanguhi and to Erethe and to Rasastât and to the Glory (and the) Benefit which Mazda made

17 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the good and pious Prayer for blessings of the pious man and to that Yazad the swift and dreadful Curse of the wise

18 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to these places districts pastures and abodes with their springs of water and to the waters and the lands and the plants and to this earth and yon heaven and to the holy wind and to the stars and the moon even to the stars without beginning (to their course), the self appointed and to all the holy creatures of Spenta Mainyu be they male or female regulators (as they are) of the ritual order

19 And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to that lofty lord who is Righteousness (the Best), and the Day lords, the lords of the days during their duration and to those of the days during daylight and to the Month lords and the Year lords and to those of the seasons the lords who are lords of the ritual and at the time of Hâvani

20 And I offer the Myazda meat offering with a complete and sacred offering and Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretatât (who guards the wood) and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed whose body is the Mâthra him of the

daring spear the lordly the Yazad of the spoken name

21 And I offer the Haoma and the Haoma juice for the propitiation of the Fravashî of Zarathustra Spitama the saint the Yazad of the spoken name

And I offer the wood billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation the Fires Ahura Mazda's son the Yazad of the spoken name

22 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Fravashis of the saints the mighty and overwhelming to those of the saints of the ancient lore and to those of the next of kin

23 And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all the lords of the ritual order and to all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for sacrifice and homage because of Asha who is Vahista (of Righteousness who is the Best)

24 May that approach to us and with a sacred blessing (O Lord!) whose benefits the offerers are seeking for Thy praisers and Māthra speakers O Ahura Mazda! may we be named we desire it, and such may we be What reward O Ahura Mazda! adapted to myself Thou hast appointed unto souls,

25 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and for that of mind (yea do Thou bestow) so much of this as that we may attain to Thy ruling protection and to that of Righteousness for ever

26 We sacrifice to the Ahuna varya and to the veracious word correctly uttered, and to the good and pious prayer for blessings and to the dreadful curse of the wise the Yazad and to Haurvatât and Ameretata/ and to the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift and to the Haoma and Haoma juice and to the wood billets, and the perfume for the praise of the pious and good prayer for blessings

The Yēnhē hātām

27 (To that one) of beings do we sacrifice whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows through his Righteousness (within him yea even to those female saints do we sacrifice) whose (superior sanctity is thus known We sacrifice to all) both males and females whose (superiority is such) (The Ratu speaks) As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, he who is the Zaothar speaks forth to me

(The Zaothar) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness holy and learned speak forth!

YASNA VIII

OFFERING OF THE MEAT OFFERING IN PARTICULAR
THE FAITHFUL PARTAKE

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.

It is weal it is weal to this (man)

When toward Righteousness Best there is right.

I offer the Myazda (of the) meat offering with a complete and sacred offering and I offer Haurvatatâ (who guards the water) and Ameretatâ (who guards the plants and the wood) and the flesh of the blessed Kine and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma juice, the wood billets and the perfume for the praise of Ahura Mazda and of the Ahuna vairya the veracious word and for that of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings and for the redoubted Curse of the wise and for the praise of the Haoma and of the Māthra of the holy Zarathustra and may it come to us with sacred fulness (to accept and to recompense our gift)

2 (The Ratu speaks) Eat O ye men of this Myazda the meat offering ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and correctness¹

3 O ye Bountiful Immortals and thou the Mazdayasnian law ye just men and just women and ye Zaothras whoever among these Mazdayasnians would call himself a Mazdayasnian desiring to live in the practice of the liberality of Righteousness [for by sorcery the settlements of Righteousness are ruined] do ye cause (such an one) to be (still further) taught (ye) who are the waters the plants and the Zaothras¹

4 And whoever of these Mazdayasnians adults when he invokes with earnestness does not adhere to these words, and (so) speaks he approaches to that (word) of the magician (but as against that magician's word) a blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best²

5 Mayst Thou O Ahura Mazda! reign at Thy will and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters and over plants and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness Strip ye the wicked of all power¹

6 Absolute in power may the holy be bereft of all free choice the wicked¹ Gone (may he be) met as foe carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu hemmed in without power over any wish¹

7 I will incite even I who am Zarathustra the

¹ Or shut out which would seem better adapted

² This piece is a reproduction or close imitation of some earlier fragment It sounds like an exhortation delivered while the Faith was still new

heads of the houses villages *Zantus* and provinces to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura and according to Zarathustra in their thoughts their words and their deeds

8 I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (mar) while I bless it and I pray for the repression and shame¹ of the entire existence² of the wicked

9 Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise (The Zao^{tar} ?) As the Ahu to be (revered and) chosen the Zao^{tar} speaks forth to me (The Ratu) As an Ahu to be (revered and) chosen the Zao^{tar} speaks forth to me (The Zao^{tar}) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and 'earned speak forth!

YASNA IX

THE HÔM YAST

The Haoma yast has claims to antiquity (owing to its subject but not to its dialect) next after the Sôst yast H(a)oma=Soma as a deity flourished not only before the Cathas but before the Riks of the Veda in Aryan ages before Iranian and Indian became two peoples

The astonishing circumstance has been elsewhere noted that a hymn which is a reproduction of an Aryan original should not withstanding its earlier characteristics be necessarily assigned to

¹ The Pahlavi transl. or as I think had a text before him which read *duzathrem* I so correct Against the keen and most interesting suggestion of *duz + athrem* I am compelled to note *ahvathrê* shows *rg* a composition *a + Athra* which seems not probable it = *a + hu + athra* Duzathra not *ahvathre* would have been written Cp *h₂erg*=*hvan* for root

² Possibly house

a date much later than the Gathas in which H(a)oma worship is not mentioned

Probably on account of bitter animosities prevailing between their more southern neighbours and themselves and the use of Soma by the Indians as a stimulant before battle the Iranians of the Gathic period had become lukewarm in their own H(a)oma worship. But that it should have revived as we see it in this Yast after having nearly or quite disappeared is most interesting and remarkable. Was it definitively and purposely repudiated by Zarathustra afterwards reviving as by a relapse? I do not think that it is well to hold to such deliberate and conscious antagonisms and to a definite policy and action based upon them. The Soma worship like the sacramental acts of other religions which have become less practised after exaggerated attention had simply fallen into neglect increased by an aversion to practices outwardly similar to those of Dæva worshippers. The Yast is of course made up of fragments which I have endeavoured to separate by lines. In the translation I have given a rhythmical rendering necessarily somewhat free. It was difficult to impart sufficient vivacity to the piece while using a uselessly awkward literalness. The freedom as elsewhere often consists in adding words to point the sense or round the rhythm. (Expressions for identical Zend words have been here as elsewhere purposely varied.)

1 At the hour of Hâvanî¹ H(a)oma came to Zarathustra as he served the (sacred) Fire and sanctified (its flame) while he sang aloud the Gathas

And Zarathustra asked him Who art thou O man! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in Thine own body of those whom I have seen (thou) glorious [immortal]?²

2 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer³, the holy one who driveth death afar I am O Zarathustra

¹ In the morning from six to ten

² Or beautiful of life

³ Me, omitted as interrupting rhythm seems to be merely dramatic or did it indicate that there was an original Zarathustrian Haoma Gâthâ from which this is an extension?

H(a)oma the holy and driving death afar pray to me O Spitâma prepare me for the taste Praise toward me in (Thy) praises as the other [Saosh yants] praise

3 Thereupon spake Zarathustra Unto H(a)oma be the praise¹ What man O H(a)oma¹ first prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

4 Thereupon did H(a)oma answer me be the holy one and driving death afar Vivanghvant² was the first of men who prepared me for the incarnate world This blessedness was offered him this gain did he acquire that to him was born a son who was Yima called the brilliant (he of the many flocks the most glorious of those yet born the sunlike one of men³) that he made from his authority both herds and people free from dying both plants and waters free from drought and men could eat imperishable food

5 In the reign of Yima swift or motion was there neither cold nor heat there was neither age nor death nor envy⁴ demon made Like fifteen year lings walked the two forth son and father in their stature and their form so long as Yima son of Vivanghvant ruled he of the many herds¹

6 Who was the second man O H(a)oma¹ who

¹ Might not the entire sixteenth verse be placed here?

² The fifth from Gaya Maretan the Iranian Adam but his countenance part the Indian Vvasvat appears not only as the father of Yama but of Manu and even of the gods (promoted mortals?)

³ Compare svar dr̥śas pāvamânâs

⁴ So the Pahlavi

⁵ Males like females, seem to have been considered as developed at fifteen years of age

prepared thee for the corporeal world? What sanctity was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

7 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer he the holy one and driving death afar Áthwya¹ was the second who prepared me for the corporeal world This blessedness was given him this gain did he acquire that to him a son was born Thraetaona² of the heroic tribe

8 Who smote the dragon Dahaka³ three jawed and triple headed six eyed with thousand powers and of mighty strength a lie demon of⁴ the Daêvas evil for our settlements and wicked whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Drug(k) [against the corporeal world] and for the murder of (our) settlements and to slay the (homes) of Asha¹

9 Who was the third man O H(a)oma¹ who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

10 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer the holy one and driving death afar Thríta⁵ [the most helpful of the Sâmas⁶] was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world This blessedness was given

¹ Comp Trita aptia

² Comp the Indian Tritana connected with Trita

³ Let it be remembered that Trita smote the Anu before Indra Indra seeming only to re enact the more original victory which the Avesta notices Concerning Azhi Dahaka see Windischmann's Zendstudien s 136

⁴ Free

In the Rîg veda aptya seems only an epithet added to the name Trita* and the two serpents of the Avesta are suspicious Two names seem to have become two persons or has the Avesta the more correct representation?

⁵ Have we the Semites here? They certainly penetrated as conquerors far into Media and it seems uncritical to deny one leaving traces The gloss may be very old

* And to that of other gods

him this gain did he acquire that to him two sons were born Urvâkhshaya and Keresâspa the one a judge confirming order the other a youth of great ascendant, ringlet headed¹ buldgeon bearing

11 He who smote the hoiny dragon swallowing men and swallowing horses poisonous and green of colour over which as thick as thumbs are greenish poison flowed aside, on whose back once Keresâspa cooked his meat in iron caldron at the noon day meal and the deadly scorched upstarted² and springing off dashed out the water as it boiled Headlong fled affrighted manly minded³ Keresâspa

12 Who was the fourth man who prepared thee

Comp Kapara nam

¹ I abandon reluctantly the admirable comparison of hris with the Indian sîd (Gclner) also when explained as an uchoative (Buth) but the resulting meaning is far from natural either here or in Vend III 32 (Sp 105) That the dragon should begin to sweat (!) under the fire which was kindled upon his back and which caused him to spring away seems difficult The process was not so deliberate He was scorched smart and then sprang Also in Vend III 32 where the bale is produced the demons hardly sweat (with mental misery) The idea is too advanced for the document Burnouf's and Haug's hiss was much better in both places But I prefer the hint of the Pahlavi lâlâ vazlûnd In Vend III 32 (Sp 105) *hrist hōmano Ner taptasā sa nrīsam sa/ kul skubhe* [*avipādo * babhuva*] Whether *hrīsatka* = *h sa/ka* (?) has anything to do with *hiz* or *hriz* = Pahlavi *ākhizidariō* † N P *hrīdan* is a question I follow tradition without etymological help perhaps we might as well write the word like the better known form as a conjecture

² The Pahlavi translator makes the attempt to account for the epithet manly minded as applied to Keresâspa while yet he fled affrighted he says *Hōmand marām rsnih hanâ yehevurd aighas libbem man pavan gasdast Ner asva paurushan anasatvam * idam babhuva yad asau kātanyam sinare dadhau* his manly mindedness was this, that he kept his wits on the occasion See the same story treated somewhat differently in the *Yas s* by Darmesteter (p 295 note 2)

† Or *ākhizidariō*

O H(a)oma ! for the corporeal world ? What blessedness was given him ? what gain did he acquire ?

13 Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer he the holy and driving death afar Pourushaspa¹ was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou O Zarathustra ! wast born to him the just in Pourushaspa's house the D(a)êva's foe the friend of Mazda's lore (14) famed in Airvena Vaêgah and thou O Zarathustra ! didst recite the first the Ahuna vairya² four times intoning it, and with verses kept apart [(Pazand) each time with louder and still louder voice]

15 And thou didst cause O Zarathustra ! all the demon gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape (and power This hast thou done) thou who hast been the strongest and the staunchest the most active and the swiftest and (in every deed) the most victorious in the two spirits³ world

16 Thereupon spake Zarathustra Praise to H(a)oma Good is H(a)oma and he well endowed exact and righteous in its nature and good inherently and healing beautiful of form and good in deed and most successful in its working⁴ golden hued with bending sprouts As it is the best for drinking so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious⁵ for the soul

17 I make my claim on thee O yellow one ! for

¹ Son of Païtirasp or Spetarasp Bundahis XXXII 1 2 &c

² The Ahuna-vairya is in the Gathic dialect and in the Ahuna vaiti metre it may have been composed by Z It named the Gâthâ

³ Comp Y XXX 6?

⁴ Free

⁵ Comp pathmeng gavô:

inspiration¹ I make my claim on thee for strength,
 I make my claim on thee for victory I make my
 claim on thee for health and healing (when healing
 is my need) I make my claim on thee for progress
 and increased prosperity and vigour of the entire
 frame and for understanding of each adorning kind
 and for this, that I may have free course among our
 settlements having power where I will overwhelm
 angry manes and a conqueror of lies

18 Yea I make my claim on thee that I may
 overwhelm the angry hate of haters of the D(a)evs
 and of morals of the sorcerers and sirens² of the
 tyrants³ and the Kavis of the Karpans, murderous
 bipeds of the sanctity destroyers the profane apos-
 tate bipeds of the wolves four footed monsters of
 the invading host wide fronted which with strata
 gems⁴ advance

19 This first blessing I beseech of thee O
 H(a)oma thou that drivest death afar! I beseech
 of thee for (heaven) the best life of the saints the
 radiant all glorious⁵

This second blessing I beseech of thee O
 H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! this body's
 health (before that blest life is attained)

This third blessing I beseech of thee O H(a)oma
 thou that drivest death afar! the long vitality of life

¹ Or is madhem related to medhā as well as mazdā (fem.)⁶

² Pahl 'arzanakf'

³ Hard'y witches outwardly attractive but evil female beings

⁴ Pahl sasāraṇo

⁵ Pahl pavan r farih Ner pratāraṇatayā

⁶ Vispo hzāthrem does not mean comfortable here Hvan
 1 the root comp hveng=sun

20 This fourth blessing I beseech of thee O H(a)oma thou that drivest death afar¹ that I may stand forth on this earth with desires gained¹ and powerful receiving satisfaction overwhelming the assaults of hate and conquering the lie

This fifth blessing O H(a)oma I beseech of thee thou that drivest death afar¹ that I may stand victorious on earth conquering in battles² overwhelming the assaults of hate and conquering the lie

21 This sixth blessing I ask of thee O H(a)oma thou that drivest death afar¹ that we may get good warning of the thief good warning of the murderer see first the bludgeon bearer get first sight of the wolf May no one whichsoever get first the sight of us In the strife with each may we be they who get the first alarm¹

22 H(a)oma grants to racers³ who would run a course with span both speed and bottom (in their horses) H(a)oma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line

H(a)oma grants to those (how many!) who have long sat searching books more knowledge and more wisdom

23 H(a)oma grants to those long maidens who sit at home unwed, good husbands, and that as soon as asked he H(a)oma the well minded

24 H(a)oma lowered Keresani⁴ dethroned him from his throne for he grew so fond of power that

¹ Pahl min hvâstâr

² Pahl vâñdâr pavan kûshânô

³ Arvantô = aurvantô so the Pahl arvand

⁴ Comp the Vedic Kṛiśānu archer and demi god who guarded the Soma Ner seems to notice that the name recalls that of the Christians

he treacherously said No priest behind (and watching) shall walk the lands for me as a counsellor to prosper them he would rob everything of progress he would crush the growth of all !

25 Hail to thee O H(a)oma who hast power as thou wilt and by thine inborn strength ! Hail to thee thou art well versed in many sayings, and true and holy words Hail to thee for thou dost ask no wily questions but questionest direct

26 Forth hath Mazda borne to thee the star bespangled girdle ⁴ the spirit made the ancient one the Mazdayasnan Farh

So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains for the spreading of the precepts and the headings ³ of the Māthra (and to help the Māthra's teacher)

27 O H(a)oma thou house lord and thou clan lord, thou tribe lord and chieftain of the land and thou successful learned teacher for aggressive strength I speak to thee for that which smites with victory and for my body's saving and for manifold delight !

28 Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful Divert the angry foes intent !

What man soever in this house is violent and wicked what man soever in this village or this tribe, or province, seize thou away the fleetness from

¹ So the Pahlavi before others read apās comp frās

² Haug's keen sighted suggestion pourvanm=paurva=the Pleiades+ni=leading i.e. P looks doubtful and seems refuted by Yas. XXIV 29 where Darmaseter renders a word probably akin as the many I would here render the former

³ The grasp the summary of them

his feet throw thou a veil of darkness o'er his mind make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck!

29 Let not the man who harms us mind or body have power to go forth on both his legs or hold with both his hands or see with both his eyes not the land (beneath his feet) or the herd before his face

30 At the aroused and fearful¹ Dragon green and belching forth his poison for the righteous saint that perishes yellow H(a)oma hurl thy mace²!

At the (murderous) bludgeon bearer, committing deeds unheard of³ blood thirsty, (drunk) with fury yellow H(a)oma hurl thy mace!

31 Against the wicked human tyrant hurling weapons at the head, for the righteous saint that perishes yellow H(a)oma hurl thy mace!

Against the righteousness disturber the unholy life destroyer, thoughts and words of our⁴ religion well delivering yet in actions never reaching for the righteous saint that perishes yellow H(a)oma hurl thy mace!

32 Against the body of the harlot with her magic minds overthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures⁵ to the lusts her person offering whose⁶ mind as vapour wavers as it flies before the wind for the righteous saint that perishes yellow H(a)oma hurl thy mace!

¹ Pahl sakhmakan Ner bhayamkare

² Or strike thy club

³ Deeds apart 'evil deeds

⁴ Free

⁵ Or holding

⁶ Yēnhê must be an error otherwise offering the person to him whose mind as vapour wavers

YASNA X

1 Let the Demon gods and Goddesses fly far away¹ from hence and let the good Sraosha make here his home! [And may the good Blessedness here likewise dwell] and may she here spread delight and peace within this house Ahura's which is sanctified by H(a)om² bringing righteousness (to all)

2 At the first force of thy pressure O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice while I grasp at first thy shoots At thy next pressure O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice when as with full force of a man I crush thee down

3 I praise the cloud that waters thee and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains and I praise thy lofty mountains where the H(a)orra branches spread

4 This wide earth do I praise expanded far (with paths) the productive the full bearing thy mother holy plant! Yea I praise the lands where thou dost grow sweet scented swiftly spreading the good growth of the Lord O H(a)oma thou growest on the mountains apart on many paths³ and there still mayst thou flourish The springs of Righteousness most verily thou art (and the fountains of the ritual find their source in thee)!

¹ The Pahlavi as corrected by the MS of Dastur Hoshangir Gamâspî has *barî akîar min laumman vîdênd barî shêda* Ner *Rue pas'at asmât prapatanti rûe devâh rûe devasahava/ devyâh uttamvâh Sroso mvasa* :

² Or where O Haom²! thou hast grown reading—*isa* with Barta as 2nd sing perf pret middle

³ Or on the pathways of the birds

5 Grow (then) because I pray to thee on all thy
 tems and branches in all thy shoots (and tendrils)
 ncrease thou through my word¹

6 H(a)oma grows while he is praised and the
 man who praises him is therewith more victorious
 The lightest pressure of thee H(a)oma thy feeblest
 praise the slightest tasting of thy juice avails to the
 thousand smiting of the D(a)êvas

7 Wasting doth vanish from that house and with
 it foulness whither in verity they bear thee and
 where thy praise in truth is sung the drink of
 H(a)oma famed health bringing (as thou art)
 [(Pazand) to his village and abode they bear him]

8 All other toxicants go hand in hand with Rapine
 of the bloody spear but H(a)oma's stirring power goes
 hand in hand with friendship [Light is the drunken-
 ness of H(a)oma (Pazand)]

Who as a tender son caresses H(a)oma forth to
 the bodies of such persons H(a)oma comes to heal

9 Of all the healing virtues H(a)oma whereby
 thou art a healer grant me some Of all the vic-
 torious powers whereby thou art a victor grant me
 some A faithful praiser will I be to thee O H(a)oma
 and a faithful praiser (is) a better (thing) than Right
 eousness the Best, so hath the Lord declaring (it)
 decreed

10 Swift¹ and wise hath the well skilled² Deity
 created thee swift and wise on high Haraiti did He
 the well skilled plant thee

11 And taught (by implanted instinct) on every

¹ Having immediate effect and giving wisdom.

² Comp Y XLIV 5

side the bounteous¹ birds have carried thee to the Peaks above the eagles² to the mount's extremest summit to the gorges and abysses to the heights of many pathways³, to the snow peaks ever whitened

12 There, H(a)oma, on the ranges dost thou grow of many kinds Now thou growest of milky whiteness and now thou growest golden and forth thine healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the pious So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the curser So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner

13 Praise be to thee O H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever) Praise be to H(a)oma (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination) With manifold retainers dost thou O H(a)oma, endow the man who drinks thee mixed with milk yea, more prosperous thou makest him and more endowed with mind

14 Do not vanish from me suddenly like milk drops in the rain let thine exhilarations go forth ever vigorous and fresh, and let them come to me with strong effect Before thee, holy H(a)oma thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) grown⁴

15 I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's⁵ emptiness the Gaini's hers, with intellect

¹ Possibly the birds taught by the bounteous one the God taught birds

² Elsewhere and here also possibly a proper name

³ Or the pathways of the birds, so Haug following Spiegel and Justi Gurgati as above

⁴ Which is seen as mine well grown

⁵ Gaini seems always used in an evil sense in the later Avesta

dethroned¹ She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire priest and H(a)oma but she herself deceived therein, shall perish And when she sits at home² and wrongly eats of H(a)oma's offering priest's mother will that never make her nor give her holy³ sons!

16 ⁴To five do I belong to five others do I not, of the good thought am I of the evil am I not of the good word am I of the evil am I not of the good deed am I and of the evil, not

To Obedience am I given, and to deaf disobedience not to the saint do I belong and to the wicked not and so from this on till the ending shall be the spirits parting (The two shall here divide)

17 Thereupon spake Zarathustra Praise to H(a)oma Mazda made Good is H(a)oma Mazda-made All the plants of H(a)oma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains in the gorges of the valleys in the clefts (of sundered hill sides) cut for the bundles bound by women From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over⁵ Let me not thy (sacred) liquor spill to earth of precious cost

18 These are thy Gâthas⁶ holy H(a)oma, these

¹ I would correct to a form of *khra*tu

² Compare the avoiding the service mentioned by the Pahlavi translator on Y LIII 5

³ Or more safely many sons

⁴ Haoma speaks

⁵ Here the priest evidently manipulates the cups containing the Haoma juice

⁶ The application of this term here seems to point to a high antiquity for the Haoma Yast if not in the present piece which is not so old as the Gâthas then in previous hymns to Haoma of which this Yast is an improvement, or extension

thy songs and these thy teachings and these thy truthful ritual words health² imparting victory giving from harmful hatred healing giving

19 These and thou art mine and forth let thine exhilarations flow bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way for light are thine exhilaration(s) and flying lightly come they here Victory giving smite³ H(a)oma, victory giving ¹ it worshipped with this Gâthic word we praise it

20 Praise to the Kine praise and victory (be) spoken to her! Food for the Kine and pasture!
'For the Kine let thrift use toil yield thou us food³

21 We worship the yellow lofty one we worship H(a)oma who causes progress who makes the settlements advance we worship H(a)oma who drives death afar yea we worship all the H(a)oma plants And we worship (their) blessedness and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Sp tâma, the saint⁴

YASNA XI

PRELUDE TO THE H(A)OMA OFFERING

1 Three clean creatures (full of blessings) curse betimes while yet invoking the cow the horse and then H(a)oma The cow cries to her driver⁵ thus

¹ Nei possibly figuratively yâh karait asvâdanâh

² Ner saundaryam

³ See Y XLVIII 5

⁴ The Yênhê hâtâm follows

⁵ This characteristic fragment is repeated and extended in the later literature of the Parsis The curse of the cow horse and of Haoma (scilicet the priest) when they are stunted was extended to all domestic animals It has been difficult to avoid the full metrical rhythm of the original with its jangling cadence A full freedom is also not avoided

⁶ Not o the priest Ner grîhitaram

Childless be thou shorn of offspring evil famed and slander followed who foddered¹ fairly dost not use me but fattenest me for wife or children and for thy niggard selfish meal

2 The horse cries to his rider thus Be not spanner² of the racers stretch no coursers to full speed, do not stride across the fleetest thou who dost not pray me swiftness in the meeting thick with numbers in the circuit thronged with men

3 H(a)oma speaks his drinker thus Childless be thou shorn of offspring, evil famed and slander followed who holdes³ me from all outpouring as a robber skulls in crushing No head smiter³ am I ever holy H(a)oma far from death⁴

4 Forth my father gave an offering tongue and left eye chose Ahura set apart for H(a)oma's meal

5 Who this offering would deny me eats himself or prays it from me this which Mazda gave to bless me tongue with left eye (as my portion)

6 In his house is born no fire priest warrior ne'er in chariot standing never more the thrifty tiller In his home be born Dahakas Murakas of evil practice doing deeds of double nature

7 Quick cut off then H(a)oma's portion gift of flesh for doughty H(a)oma! Heed lest H(a)oma

¹ Who dost not give me cooked (food) seems improbable. If *hvâsari* means fodder why is it fem especially here with a feminine correlative? I think that having good food is the meaning of the word as an adjective and agreeing with *gām* understood. Possibly who dost not bestow upon me as the one well foddered

² Dialectically used

³ Light is the intoxication of Haoma (other toxicants smite the head)

Having death afar

bind thee fettered as he bound the fell Turanian
 Frangrasyan¹ (the murderous robber) fast in iron
 close surrounded in the mid third⁴ of this earth!
 8 Thereupon spake Zarathustra² Praise to H(a)oma
 made by Mazda good is H(a)oma Mazda made

9⁴ Who to us is one hereupon to thee (becomes)
 two to be made to three for the five⁵ making of the
 four for the seven-making of the sixth who are your
 nine in the decade (?) who serve you and with zeal⁶

10⁷ To thee O holy H(a)oma! bearer of the
 ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen
 (by all to be) mature (and fit for gift) to H(a)oma
 the effective do I offer it and to the sacred exhilara-
 tion which he bestows and do thou grant to me (for
 this) O holy H(a)oma! thou that drivest death afar
 (Heaven) the best world of the saints shining all
 brilliant

A Turanian king

¹ Observe the threefold division of the earth see it also in
 Vend II

² A poetical reproduction Z had been long among the ancient
 dead

⁴ The Raspi at present hands the Haoma cup to the priest at
 this point the efficacy of the liquor is supposed to be multiplied

⁵ *Pendaidyāi* is to be read as of course the letter *u* not unlike *e*
 in a MS when turned was probably half inverted

⁶ This seems rendered by the Pahlavi as an interlude between
 the Ratu and the Zaoatar comp Y XXVIII 11 Several broken
 sentences from other parts of the Avesta are here doubtfully
 recalled perhaps as having especial sanctity

⁷ The Raspi brings the Haoma vessel to the Baresman at this
 point and touching its stand the Mah rti lays a cloth on the
 right hand of the Zaoatar who looking at the vessel proceeds to
 recite as follows in verse 10

11 (The Ashem Vohu &c)

12-15 Mayst Thou rule at Thy will O Lord ¹

16 I confess myself a Mazdayasnan of Zarathustra's order

17 ³I celebrate my praises for good thoughts good words and good deeds for my thoughts my speeches and (my) actions With changing praises I present all good thoughts good words and good deeds and with rejection I repudiate all evil thoughts and words and deeds 18 Here I give to you O ye Bountiful Immortals! sacrifice and homage with the mind with words deeds and my entire person yea, (I offer) to you the flesh of my very body (as your own) And I praise Righteousness A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best &c

YASNA XII (S₁ XIII)

THE MAZDAYASNIAN CONFESSION ⁴

1 I drive ⁵ the Daêvas hence I confess as a Mazda worshipper of the order of Zarathustra estranged from the Daevas devoted to the lore of

¹ See Y VIII 5-8

² See Y III 4 20

This piece is in the Gathic dialect and therefore an especially fitting prelude to the Confession of faith in Y XII

This piece in the Gathic dialect has claims to higher antiquity next after the Haptanghaiti Its retrospective cast shows that it is later than the original period Verse 7 savours of a later date with its reference to the plants and waters That Zarathustra Kavi Vistaspa Frashaostra and Gamaspas are named by no means proves that they were still living Still they are not mentioned with any fanciful or superstitious exaggeration they are not yet demi-gods

³ As a partial explanation of naism³ from na compare the Avestan nesat Possibly also from nad I curse the demons

the Lord a praiser¹ of the Bountiful Immortals and to Ahura Mazda the good and endowed with good possessions, I attribute all things good to the holy One the resplendent to the glorious whose are all things whatsoever which are good whose is the Kine whose is Asha (the righteous order pervading all things pure) whose are the stars in whose lights the glorious beings and objects are clothed²

2 And I choose Piety the bounteous and the good mine may she be³ And therefore I loudly deprecate all robbery⁴ and violence against the (sacred) Kine and all drought⁵ to the wasting of the Mazdayasnian villages

3 Away from (?) their thoughts do I wish to lead (the thought of) wandering at will (away the thought of) free nomadic pitching of the tent for I wish to remove (?) all wandering from⁶ (their) Kine which abide in steadfastness upon this land and bowing down in worship to Righteousness I dedicate my offerings with praise so far as that Never may I stand as a source of wasting never as a source of withering to the Mazdayasnian villages not for the love⁷ of body or of life

4 Away do I abjure the snelter and headship of the

¹ And sacrificer

² A genuine citation from the Gāthas (see Y XXXI 7)

³ A genuine allusion to the Gāthas (Y XXXII 2)

⁴ This preserves the proper reading of *tâyuska* (so the Pahlavi) in Y XXIX 1

⁵ *Viyâpa* as beyond a doubt so *viyâpem* in verse 3

⁶ *Frâ* has the same force as in *fra perenaot* (?) to fill forth, to empty Otherwise for n to their thoughts I offer in my prayer free ranging at their choice and a lodging where they will to gether with their cattle which dwell upon this land.

⁷ Comp *nairi kinanghō khratu kinangho* and *shaetō kinangho*

Daevas evil as they are are utterly bereft of good and void of virtue deceitful in their wickedness of (all) beings those most like the Demon of the Lie the most loathsome of existing things and the ones the most of all bereft of good

5 Off, off do I abjure the Daêvas and all possessed by them the sorcerers and all that hold to their devices and every existing being of the sort their thoughts do I abjure their words and actions and their seed (that propagate their sin) away do I abjure their shelter and their headship and the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakhshas act!

Thus and so in very deed might Ahura Mazda have indicated¹ to Zarathustra in every question which Zarathustra asked and in all the consultations in the which they two conversed together 6 Thus and so might Zarathustra have abjured the shelter and the headship of the Daêvas in all the questions and in all the consultations with which they two conversed together Zarathustra and the Lord

And so I myself in whatsoever circumstances I may be placed, as a worshipper of Mazda and of Zarathustra's order would so abjure the Daevas and their shelter as he who² was the holy Zarathustra abjured them (once of old)

7 To that religious sanctity³ to which the waters appertain do I belong to that sanctity to which the plants to that sanctity to which the Kine of blessed gift⁴ to that religious sanctity to which Ahura Mazda who made both Kine and holy men, belongs

¹ Reading ad-kh l ayaêta otherwise lshayae â commanded

² The Pahlavi structure he who foreshadowed as often

³ Not in the sense of recompense here

⁴ Observe his original meaning but is here impossible

to that sanctity do I Of that creed which Zaratrustra held which Kavi Vistâspa and those two Frashaostra and Gamaspas yea of that religious faith which every Saoshyant who shall (yet come to) save (us) the holy ones who do the deeds of real significance of that creed and of that lore am I

8 A Mazda worshipper I am of Zarathustra's order (so) do I confess as a praiser and confessor and I therefore praise aloud the well-thought thought the word well spoken, and the deed well done

9 Yea I praise at once the Faith of Mazda the Faith which has no faltering utterance¹ the Faith that wields the felling halbert² the Faith of kindred marriage the holy (Creed) which is the most imposing best and most beautiful of all religions which exist and of all that shall in future come to knowledge Ahura's Faith the Zarathustrian creed Yea to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnian belief¹

YASNA XIII (SP XIV)

INVOCATIONS AND DEDICATIONS

1 I address (my invocation to) Ahura Mazda And I invoke (among guardian beings) the chief³ of

¹ Fraṣpâvaoknedhrām y' miswritten for v Fra seems to be prohibitive speech without falling or hesitation better as adj

² Comp Y XXXI 18

³ This Ratu is the description and representation of the Nmânô pairi as occupying the attention of the worshippers chiefly at the time of his mention in the course of the ritual (I vary the expression chief with that of lord here for the sake of change) Once established as a Ratu in the ritual he became a guardian genius Nmânja o of the others. (Y XIII is in the Gâthic dialect)

the house-lord and the chief of the Vis lord¹ and the chief of the Zantū lord² And I invoke the chief of the province lord³ And the chief of women I invoke, the Mazdayasnian Faith, the blessed and good Pareñdī⁴ her who is the holy one of human-kind⁵ And I invoke this (holy) earth which bears us

2 And I invoke the friendly and most helpful person's⁶ lord, the Fire of Ahura Mazda and also the most energetic lords of holy men, those who are most strenuous⁷ in their care of cattle and the fields and the chief of the thrifty tiller of the earth And I invoke the steady settler⁸ of sanctity (and) the chief of the charioteer

3 And I invoke the chief of the fire priest by means of the most imposing sciences of the Mazdayasnian Faith And I invoke the chief of the Atharvan and his pupils I invoke yea the lords of each of them I invoke these lords and I summon the Bountiful Immortals here and the Prophets who shall serve us the wisest as they are the most scru

¹ Visya ² Zantuma Dāh yama=Dahyama

⁴ The goddess of riches

⁷ Lit biped see elsewhere where quadruped means merely beast
Or households

⁸ Ashethwōzgatēmā (several manuscripts have ashe) finds its explanation from the Pahlavi of Dastur Hoshanggi Gāmāspgī's MS. It may be read kabed rang rasintum instead of kabed yōm asintum. The ancient error of yōm arose from the fact that the copyist had before him a form which might be read either rōg or rang the characters being identical for either word. He could not reconcile himself to rang in the sense of effort, and so decided for rōg but in order to guide his successors aright he changed it for its synonym vom which as Spiegel well remarks affords but little sense. But the word is rang as I believe and this is at once corroborated by Ner s bahuklera. Read as +thwak'ra + gatēmā=kabed + rang + rasintum the most progressing with painful energy

⁸ Or steadiest force

puious in their exactness (as) they utter words (of doctrine and of service) the most devoted (to their duties likewise) and the most glorious in their though s (?)¹ And I invoke the most imposing forces of the Mazdayasnian Faith and the fire priests² I invoke and the charioteers the warriors and the thrifty tillers of the soil

4 And to You O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright and dispose (of all) aright I offer the flesh of my very frame and all the blessings of my life

Thus³ the two spirits³ thought thus they spoke and thus they did

5 And therefore as Thou O Ahura Mazda⁴ didst think speal dispose and do all things good (for us) so to Thee would we give so would we assign to Thee our homage so would we worship Thee with our sacrifices So would we bow before Thee with these gifts and so direct our prayers to Thee with confess ons of our debt

6 By the kinship of the good kindred⁴ by that of Righteousness the good (Thy righteous servant's nature) would we approach Thee and by that of the good thrift law and of Piety the good

7 And we would worship the Fravashî of the Kine of blessed gift⁵ and that of the holy Gaya Maretan and we would worship the holy Fravashî⁶

¹ I should think that the reference was here to khratavo Y XLVI 3 See Y XXII 14 as alternatively rendered

² A portion of the text has here fallen out.

³ The recognition of a strong dualism here is imperative Ahura alone is praised

Or of the good kinsman the lord (?)

⁵ Elsewhere meaning meat just as Ameretatâ and Haurvatâ mean wood and water

⁶ Or 'sanctity and the Fravashî

of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint Yea that one of beings do we worship whose better (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows (even those women do we worship) whose¹ (better service thus is known) Yea both (holy) men and women (do we worship whom Ahura Mazda knows²) As the Ahû is excelling so is our Ratu one who rules from the Righteous Order a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda and the Kingdom is to Ahura which to the poor (may offer) nurture²

A blessing is the Right called the best there is weal there is weal to this (man) when toward Righteousness Best (he does) right

8 We worship the Ahuna vairya and we worship Asha Vahista the best(?) the bountiful Immortal And we sacrifice to the Hâ iraoreti even to the confession and laudation of the Mazdayasnian Faith!

YASNA XIV (SP XV)

DEDICATIONS

1 I will come to You O Ye Bountiful Immortals as a praiser and a priest and an invoker and sacrificer as a memorising reciter and a chanter for Your sacrifice and homage which are to be offered to You the Bountiful Immortals and for our dedication and sanctification (yea for ours) who are the holy prophets (destined to benefit the saints)

2 And to You O Ye Bountiful Immortals³ I would I dedicate the flesh of my very body³ and all the blessings of a prospered life⁴

3 In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to

¹ Feminine

² Elsewhere with verbal difference

³ See Y XXXIII 14

⁴ Verses 1-2 are Gâthic

approach the holy Yazads with my praise¹ and all the holy lords of the ritual order at their times Hâvanî at his time and Savanghî and Visya at their times 4 I confess myself a Mazdayasnian and of Zarathustra's order²

5 The Zaothar speaks As an Ahû (revered and) chosen the Zaothar (?) speaks forth to me (?)

The Ratu speaks As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen the Zaothar speaks forth to me

The Zaothar So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned speak forth¹

YASNA XV (Sp XVI)

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES

1 With precept, praise, and with delight produced by grace³ I call upon the Bountiful Immortals the good and also therewith the beautiful by name⁴ and I sacrifice to them with the blessing of the good ritual with the earnest blessings of the good Mazdayasnian Faith

2 Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth, who have lived and live ever by their names these I worship while I draw near with praises⁵ The Good Kingdom is to be chosen that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings⁶)

3 Let Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for

¹ See Y II 18

² See Y III 24 25

³ Root rap=rabh a reception of grace or being received by grace

⁴ Namân may be meant for a locative, 'with the beautiful things in their name (?)

⁵ See Y LI 22

⁶ See Y LI 1

the sacrifice of Ahura Mazda the most beneficent
the holy who is so dear to us as at the first so at
the last yea let him be present here ¹

4 As the Ahû (revered and) to be chosen the
Atarevakhsha thus speaks forth to me

(Response) So let the Ratu from his righteous
ness holy and learned speak forth ¹

YASNA XVI (Sp XVII)

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH INCREASED FULNESS OF EXPRESSION

1 We worship Ahura Mazda the holy lord of the
ritual order who disposes (all) aright the greatest
Yazad who is also the most beneficent and the one
who causes the settlements to advance the creator
of good creatures yea we worship Him with these
offered Zaothras and with truthfully and scrupu-
lously delivered words and we worship every holy
Yazad of the heaven (as well) ¹

2 And we worship Zarathustra Spâtâma in our
sacrifice the holy lord of the ritual order with these
Zaothras and with faithfully delivered words, and
we worship every holy earthly Yazad as we worship
him, and we worship also the Fravashî of Zarathustra
Spitâma the saint And we worship the utterances
of Zarathustra and his religion his faith and his
lore

3 And we worship the former religions of the
world ² devoted to Righteousness which were insti-

¹ This fragment in the Gâthic dialect might more properly be
placed before the Srôsh Yast

² So the Pahlavi translator probably reading angheus o herwise

tuted at the creation the holy religions of the Creator Ahura Mazda the resplendent and glorious And we worship Vohu Manah (the Good Mind) and Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and Khshathra vairya the Kingdom to be desired and the good and bountiful Âramaiti (true piety in the believers) and Haurvata and Ameretat (our Weal and Immortality)

4 Yea we worship the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Fire Ahura Mazda's son and the good waters which are Mazda made and holy and the resplendent sun of the swift horses and the moon with the seed of cattle (in his beams¹) and we worship the star Tistrya the lustrous and glorious, and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed endowment (5) and its Creator Ahura Mazda and we worship Mithra of the wide pastures and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and Rashnu the most just and the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the saints and the Blow of victory Ahura given (as it is) And we worship Raman Hvastra and the bounteous Wind of blessed gift (6) and (its) Creator Ahura Mazda and the good Mazdayasnan Religion and the good Blessedness and Arstâ

And we worship the heaven and the earth of blessed gift and the bounteous Mâthra and the stars without beginning (to their course) self disposing as they are

7 And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness in which the souls of the dead find satisfaction and delight [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis

of the conscience that loves the right In Yast XIII 118 the word is a proper name through an error

¹ Possibly in allusion to the menses The moon is masc

of the saints] and we worship (Heaven) the best world of the saints shining all glorious

8 And we worship the two the milk offering and the libation the two which cause the waters to flow forth¹ and the plants to flourish the two foes who meet the Dragon¹ demon made and who are set to meet to defeat and to put to flight that cheat² the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the persecuting heretic) and that of the unholy tyrant full of death³

9 And we worship all waters and all plants and all good men and all good women And we worship all these Yazads heavenly and earthly⁴ who are beneficent and holy

10 And we worship thee (our) dwelling place who art the (earth our) bounteous Aramaia and Thee O Ahura Mazda O holy Lord of this abode⁵ which is the home of healthy herds and healthy men and of those who are both endowed with health and lover(s) of the ritual right

(Response of the individual worshipper(?)) Wherefore whichever of persons, or whatever of bodily influences is most helpful and preserving in that abode (thus owned by Mazda) let this meet me in mine abode and there may it abide for summer and for winter (Or let that one meet me in all my house

¹ We cannot mistake a connection here with *yó áhura ga_hāna—avasriga sarta e sarta s ndhun*

² Or is it possible that a plague of mice is meant *mûs* being here indeclinable?

³ Ordering the execution of many of his subjects

⁴ *Gaëthyâta* with J 3 K 11

⁵ Later association of *Â* and the earth

⁶ Originally recited in private houses

Alternative

in whom are what of influences are the most mighty power for the body and the person's life yea let that one meet me there, and there abide for summer and for winter (for my help) ¹⁾

YASNA XVII

TO THE FIRES WATERS, PLANTS, &c

1-10¹ 11 We worship thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use) and the fire Vohu fryâna (the good and friendly ²⁾) and the fire Urvâzista (the most beneficial and most helpful ³⁾) and the fire Vazista (the most supporting ⁴⁾) and the fire Spənista (the most bountiful ⁵⁾) and Nairyā-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage⁷ and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda made even the son of Ahura Mazda the holy lord of the ritual order with all the fires

12 And we worship the good and best waters Mazda made holy, all the waters Mazda made and holy and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy

¹ See chapter VI which is nearly identical with XVII 1-10

² This fire is that before Ahura Mazda and the kings

³ This fire dwells in the bodies of men and beasts (animal heat)

⁴ This is in trees and plants

⁵ This in the clouds (lightning)

⁶ This is the fire which is applied in the world (Bundahis, West page 61)

⁷ That N is here referred to as connected with the fire seems certain this fire corresponds with that of Vâhrām in places of worship.

13 And we worship tne Māthra spenta (the bounteous word of reason) the Zarathustrian law against the Daêvas and its long descent

14 And we worship Mount Ushî darena which is Mazda made and shining with its holiness and all the mountains shining with holiness and of abundant glory and which Mazda made —

15 And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings (16) and these waters and (these lands), (17) and all the greatest chieftains lords of the ritual order¹

18 And I praise invoke and glorify the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the saints those of the house, the Vis the Zantuma the Dahvyuma² and the Zarathustrôtema and all the holy Yazads³

YASNA XVIII⁴

1 Grant me Thou who art maker of the Kine plants and waters Immortality Mazda! Grant, too Weal Spirit bounteous —

YASNA XIX

ZAND OR COMMENTARY ON THE AHUNA VAIRYA FORMULAS⁵

(As the Ahû is excellent so (1s) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda, and

¹ 1-17 occur also in MSS as Y LIX, 1-17

² Dahyuma

³ The Yenê hâtâm follows

⁴ See Y LI 7 and Y XLVII

⁵ The obvious errors contained in this ancient comment cannot

the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer)

1 Zarathustra asked of Ahura Mazda O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit¹ maker of the corporeal worlds the holy One¹ which was that word which Thou didst declare to me (2) which was before the sky and before the water before the earth and before the cattle before the plants and before the fire and before the holy man and the Demon gods (the Daêvas) before the Khrafstra men² and before all the incarnate world even before all the good creatures made by Mazda and which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness?

3 Thereupon Ahura Mazda said It was this piece³ the Ahuna vairyā O Spitama Zarathustra! which I pronounced as thine (4) before the sky and before the waters before the land, and before the cattle and the plants and before the fire, Ahura Mazda's son before the holy man⁴, and before the Daêvas and Khrafstra men and before the entire corporeal world even before the good creatures made by Mazda which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness

5 It was these part(s) of the Ahuna vairyā O Spi

destroy its great interest as a specimen of early exegesis. Whether I hold it to be erroneous may be seen from my rendering of the Ahuna without further observations. The Ahuna vairyā is in the Gathic dialect and the Ahunavairi metre. This Zand is in the Zend (sic). Ahû gives better sense as a nom.

¹ See *dazungbô* para below

² May not *khrafstra* be a degeneration from *kehrp-astar*? While the term may be applied to wild beasts one is strongly inclined to hold that foul insects are chiefly referred to

³ This part of the Ahuna (?) meaning its several parts

⁴ Tradition usually specifies *Gaya Maretan*

tama Zarathustra! which especially belongs to me, and when each is intoned aloud without the (needless) repetition¹ of verses and of words and without their omission it is worth a hundred of their other stanzas even although they are prominent in the ritual, and likewise equally as well recited without additions or omissions, nay further when it is intoned imperfectly but added to, and with omissions, it is even then in effect equivalent (not to a hundred indeed, but) to ten other (stanzas) that are prominent

6 And whoever in this world of mine which is corporeal shall mentally recall O Spitâma* Zarathustra! a portion of the Ahuna vairya, and having thus recalled it shall undertone it, or beginning to recite it with the undertone, shall then utter it aloud or chanting it with intoning voice shall worship thus then with even threefold (safety and with speed²) I will bring his soul over the Bridge of Kîrvat I who am Ahura Mazda (I will help him to pass over it) to Heaven (the best life) and to Righteousness the Best and to the lights of heaven³

7 And whoever O Spitama Zarathustra! while undertoning the part(s) of the Ahuna vairya (or this piece the Ahuna vairya) takes ought therefrom whether the half, or the third or the fourth or the fifth I who am Ahura Mazda will draw his soul off

¹ I do not think that mispronunciation is here intended the Pahlavi has *abara shûtaish aighar barâ la khel-nûnêd Ner na sete* I am strongly inclined to read *anapashûta* for *anapishûta*

² Three times seems to me to lack meaning but it may have given rise to a foolish belief that the soul went three times before death to heaven

³ *Vahistaeibyô* retaining this sense here

from the better world yea so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide [and this¹ earth is as long as it is broad²]

8 And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahû and its Ratu³ before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters and the plants and the four footed kine before the birth of the holy biped man before this sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals⁴

9 ⁵And the more bountiful⁶ of the two Spirits (Anura) declared to me⁷ (Zarathustra) the entire creation of the pure that which exists at present that which is in the course of emerging into existence⁸ and that which shall be with reference to the performance and realisation of the actions of a life devoted to Mazda⁹

10 And this word is the most emphatic of the words which have ever been pronounced or which are now spoken or which shall be spoken in future for (the eminence of) this utterance is a thing of such a nature that if all the corporeal and living world

¹ Īm here equals īyām

² Pāzand

³ So referring to the wording of the Ahuna

⁴ Enabling us to receive the blessings which they bestow through the influence of the sun The sun shaped matter would give us a materialism The Pahlavi has levino min zak khurkshbedō brino (?) kerpo tanu i khurkshbed pīvan barā ayāpakih ī ameshō-spendano yehaoun /

I hold that Anura peaks no further here

⁵ See Y XLV 1

Of course fictitious as Z had long been among the dead

⁶ Does bivaritāa mean pas ?

⁷ Though the state of action skyaothananām anghaus Mazdāi

⁸ Can mru-ē(ve) be a third singular like ghn⁴ isē ?

should learn it and learning should hold fast by it they would be redeemed from their mortality!

11 And this our word I have proclaimed as a symbol to be learned¹ and to be recited as it were to every one of the beings under the influence of and for the sake of Righteousness the Best

12 And 'as (the worshipper has) here spoken it forth when he has thus 'appointed' the Lord and regulator² so (by thus reciting these authoritative words) he acknowledges Ahura Mazda (as prior to and supreme) over those creatures who have 'the mind'³ as their first. As he acknowledges Him as the greatest of them all so he assigns the creatures to Him (as to their originator)

13 As he undertones the third sentence he there by announces that all the amenities of life appertain to the 'good' Mazda⁴ (and come) from Him. As he recites *dazda mananghō* 'the creator of mind' he acknowledges Him as superior and prior to mind and as he makes Him the one who indicates (the truth) to mind (saving) *mananghō* of mind which means that by this much he makes Him (its director) and then he makes Him the lord of actions⁵

14 And when he acknowledges Him for the creatures thus O Mazda⁶! he acknowledges Him (as

¹ Or it has been declared to us the learner and the one in charge of the ritual

² In the words *yathâ ahu vairyo atha ra us*

³ See *dazda mananghō* coming before *skyaothananam anghêus khshathrem* and *vâstâiem*

⁴ Can the Ahuna have lost words and is *Mazdau hugiis vangheus* a citation? At all events the Zandist is in separating *vangheus* from *manangho*. He attributes mystical meaning to every word

⁵ Comp *ahû skyaothananâm*

⁶ Reading Mazda (?)

their ruler) when he assigns the creatures to Him thus He then assigns the Kingdom to Ahura¹ saying 'Thine O Mazda¹ is the Kingdom And he assigns a nourisher and protector to the poor, saying Yim drigubyô dadaŋ vâstârem, that is, as a friend to Spitama² This is the fifth sentence, (and it concludes) the entire recital and word, (even) the whole of this word of Ahura Mazda³

15 He who is the best (of all) Ahura Mazda, pronounced the Ahuna vairya and as He pronounced it as the best, so He caused it to have its effect⁴ (He ever) the same (as He is)

The evil one at once⁵ arose (to oppose Him) but He (Ahura) repelled that wicked one with His interdict, and with this repelling renunciation Neither our minds are in harmony nor our precepts nor our comprehensions nor our beliefs nor our words nor our actions nor our consciences nor our souls⁶

CATECHETICAL ZAND⁷

16 And this saying uttered by Mazda, has three stages or measures⁸ and belongs to four classes (of men as its supporters) and to five chiefs (in the political world without whom its efficiency is

¹ Khshathremâ Ahurâ a

² As having the interest of the poor at heart

³ Supposing Ahura (?) to be meant by Ahû and Ratu see Mazdâi Ahurâi The Zardist may have rendered As Ahura is the (first) to be chosen so He is our Ratu from His righteousness, the creator of Vohîman (including all good creatures) &c

⁴ Praised (?)

⁵ Reading haithv at Pahlavi t z, possibly being present

⁶ See Y XLV 2

⁷ This Zand differs as to the application of Ahû and Ratu from the former

⁸ Afsman elsewhere applies to metre

marred), and it has a conclusion ending with a gift (Question) How are its measures (constituted) ? (Answer) The good thought the good word and the good deed 17 (Question) With what classes of men ? (Answer) The priest, the charioteer (as the chief of warriors) the systematic tiller¹ of the ground, and the artisan² These classes therefore accompany the religious man throughout his entire duty³ with the correct thought, the truthful word and the righteous action These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rulers⁴ and fulfil the (laws) of religion (yea they are the guides and companions of that religious man) through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness

18 (Question) How are the chiefs (constituted) ? (Answer) They are the house chief, the village-chief and the tribe chief the chief of the province and the Zarathustra⁵ as the fifth That is so far as those provinces are concerned which are different from and outside of the Zarathustran regency or domain [Ragha⁶ which has four chiefs (only) is the Zarathustrian (district)] (Question) How are the chiefs of this one constituted ? (Answer) They (are) the house chief the village chief the tribe chief and the Zarathustra as the fourth 9 (Question) What is the thought we'll thought ? (Answer) (It is that which the holy man thinks) the one who holds the holy thought to be before all other things⁷ (Question)

¹ These are the poor but no mendicants

² A class not in the Gathas observe the rise of a caste system

³ Or experience

⁴ Or, the ritual

⁵ The title of a governor

⁶ It did not need the fifth It was a centre of rule

⁷ Ashavan manas paourvo

What is the word well spoken ? (Answer) It is the Māthra Spenta¹ the bounteous word of reason (Question) What is the deed well done ? (Answer) It is that done with praises² and by the creatures who regard Righteousness as before all other things 20 (Question) Mazda made a proclamation whom did He announce ? (Answer) Some one who was holy and yet both heavenly and mundane³ (Question) What was His character He who made this sacred enunciation ? (Answer) He who is the best (of all) the ruling one (Question) Of what character (did He proclaim him the coming one) ? (Answer) As holy and the best a ruler who exercises no wanton or despotic power⁴

21 We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Ahuna vairya We sacrifice to the memorised recital of the Ahuna-vairya and its regular chanting and its use in the full Yasna

YASNA XX

ZAND OR COMMENTARY, ON THE ASHEM VOHŪ

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the best there is weal there is weal to this man when the Right (helps) the Righteousness best (when the pious man serves it in truth⁵) Ahura Mazda spake forth Ashem vohū vahistem asti To this Asha the holy ritual sanctity, one attributes the

¹ Probably the Gathas with their lost portions also the Vendidad

² Ritual strictness based upon practical piety

³ The Saoshyant

⁴ The latter part of this Zand shows that the Ratu was recognised as a human ruler in it

⁵ Elsewhere verbally differer+ 'when Asha is for A V

qualities of good and best as one attributes property to an owner, thus this sentence *vohû vahistem asti* is substantiated (at once¹)

2 *Ustâ asti ušta ahmai* by this attribution of blessedness (the praiser) assigns every person (or thing) of a sacred nature to every holy person and as one usually (?) and regularly (?)² assigns every person or thing (?)³ that is holy to every holy man

3 *Yyat ashai vahistai*⁴ by these words the worshipper ascribes the entire *Māthra* (to *Asha Vahista*) and ascribes all to the *Māthra*, as one ascribes the kingdom to Righteousness and as one ascribes righteousness to the invoking saint *yea* as one ascribes righteousness to us who are the prophets (who shall help and bless the people) The three maxims of the sentences (are thus fulfilled) And every word (in its detail), and the entire utterance in its proclamation, is the word of *Ahura Mazda*

CATECHETICAL ADDITION⁵

4 *Mazda* has made a proclamation (Question) Whom did He announce? (Answer) That holy one who is both heavenly and earthly (Question) Of what character is He who has thus announced Him? (Answer) He is the best and the one who is exercising sovereign power (Question) Of what character is the man whom He announced? (Answer)

¹ It is carried into effect possibly rendered fit for praising (?)

² The Pahlavi indicates *nâ stâitya* (?)

³ *Ashavanem* here and in *Y XIX* 19 might be a neuter from a transition or addition

⁴ *Ashem*

⁵ This Catechetical addition is identical with that in *Y XIX* The wording alone is slightly altered in the translation to relieve the sameness

The holy and the best the one who rules with no capricious tyranny

We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Asha Vahista (prayer) We sacrifice to the heard recital of the Asha Vahista to its memorising, its chanting and its sacrificial use¹

YASNA XXI

CATECHETICAL ZAND, OR COMMENTARY UPON THE YĒNHĒ HATĀM²

(The YĒNHĒ (To that one) of beings do we offer whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda recognises by reason of the sanctity (within him) yea even to those female saints also do we sacrifice) whose (superior fidelity is thus likewise known, thus) we sacrifice to (all to both) the males and females (of the saints) ¹)

¹ The YĒnhĒ hatām follows

The expressions in this prayer were suggested by Y LI 22 but the Zand does not consistently follow the thoughts in the Gāthā. Tām under oōd should be supplied as an object for yazamaidē in connection with yēnhĒ as well as taurā for yzang hām. In Y LI 22 it is however by no means certain that yazai app es to a tam yenyā. Holding the twenty-first verse in mind I am obliged to refer yehyā to na spentō. Here however men and women are worshipped as it is improbable that the Immortals whose names are in the feminine are meant. The prayer is in the Gāthic dialect and ancient metre would hardly contain so artificial a formation. It can only be defended from the *temg yazai hūāi nāmenis* of Y LI 22.

Or did the composer of the prayer correctly render Y LI 22 and boldly write his succinct words as being clear to his hearers from explanations which are now lost? Such explanations (oral or written) as a matter of course existed from the first. No composer fails to discuss his productions.

1 A word for the Yasna by Zarathustra, the saint Yênhê, &c Here the worshipper indicates and offers the Yasna (which is the sacrificial worship) of Mazda as by the command (or as the institution) of Ahura¹ Hatām Here the worshipper offers the sacrificial worship as if with the beings who are among those who are destined to live² 2 Yaunghām Here he indicates and offers the sacrificial worship of those holy females who have Aramaiti at their head³ as homage to the Immortals These are the three sentences which comprehend all the Yasnian speech (Question) To whom is this Yasna addressed? (Answer) To the Bountiful Immortals (in the course of the Yasna) 3 Thereupon spake Mazda Salvation to this one whosoever he may be! May the absolute ruler Ahura grant it (Question) 4 Whom did He answer with this answer? (Answer) He answered The state of salvation and with this answer the state of salvation, he answered every saint who exists every one who is coming into existence and every one who shall exist in the future (Question Who answered thus? Answer) The best One (Question What did He answer? Answer) The best thing (That is) the best One Mazda answered the best and the holy (answer) for the better and the holy man 5 We sacrifice to this piece the Yênhê hâtām, the prominent and holy Yast

¹ Referring yemhe to Ahura (?)

² Fit to live clean

³ The Ameshôspends whose names are in the feminine so the Zandist erroneously

YASNA XXII

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES

1 With the Baresman brought hither together with the Zaothra for the worship of the Creator Ahura Mazda the resplendent the glorious and for that of the Bountiful Immortals, I desire to approach this Haoma with my praise offered (as it is) with punctilious sanctity (or for a blessing) and this fresh milk and this plant Hadhanaêpata 2 And, as an act of worship to the beneficent waters, I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise offered (as they are) with punctilious sanctity having the Haoma with them and the flesh, with the Hadhânaêpata And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with my praise for the beneficent waters and I desire to approach the stone mortar and the iron mortar with my praise 3 And I desire to approach this plant for the Baresman with my praise and the well timed prayer for blessings, that which has approached (to accept our homage) and the memorised recital and the fulfilment of the good Mazdayasnian Faith and the heard recital of the Gathas, and, the well-timed and successful prayer for blessings, that of the holy lord of the ritual order And I desire to approach these wood billets and their perfume with my praise —thine, the Fire s, O Ahura Mazda's son! Yea, I desire to approach all good things with my praise, those which Mazda made, and which have the seed of sanctity (within them) (4) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful

Immortals and of Sraosha the blessed and of Ahura Mazda's Fire the lofty ritual lord¹

20 And I desire to approach this Haoma with (my) praise, that which is thus lifted up with sanctity and this milk (fresh as it is and as if) living and lifted up with sanctity and this plant the Hadhanaepata lifted up with sanctity 21 And I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise for the beneficial waters these Zaothras which have the H(a)oma with them and the milk with them, and the Hadhanaepata and which are lifted up with sanctity And I desire to approach the Haoma water with (my) praise for the beneficial waters and the two mortars, the stone one and the iron one (22) and I desire to approach this branch for the Baresman with my praise and the memorised recital and fulfilment of the Mazdayasnian law and the heard recital of the Gâthas and the well timed and persistent prayer for blessings (uttered) by the holy lord² of the ritual order and this wood and perfume even thine O Fire Ahura Mazda's son, and all good objects Mazda made (23) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda the resplendent the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals and of Mithra of the wide pastures and of Râman Hvâstra³ (24) and of the resplendent sun immortal radiant, of the fleet horses and of Vayu (of predominant influence and) working on high set over the other beings in the creation [(Pâzand) that is for thee thus (O Vayu) when thine influence is that which apper-

¹ 5-19=Y III 5-19 20-23=1-4 from mem

² The priest? (Repetitions are as everywhere, curtailed and varied)

³ For closer rendering of details see verses 2 3 4 which differ chiefly in the final dedication

tains to Spenta Mainyu¹] and for the propitiation of the most just knowledge Mazda given and of the holy and good Religion the Mazdayasnian Faith (25) for the propitiation of the Māthra Spenta (the bounteous) and holy and the effective instituted against the Daevas the Zarathustrian law and of the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith [the holding in mind and devotion to the Māthra Spenta and knowledge of the Mazdayasnian Religion] for the propitiation of the understanding which is innate and Mazda made and of that which is heard by the ear (26) and for thy propitiation the Fires O Ahura Mazda's son! [(Pazand) (yea) thine the Fires O Ahura Mazda's son] with all the fires and for the propitiation of Mount Ushidarena the Mazda made radiant with sanctity (27) and of all the holy Yazads spiritual and earthly and of the holy Fravashis the redoubted and overwhelming those of the ancient lore and those of the next of kin and of the Yazad of the spoken name!

YASNA XXIII

THE FRAVASHIS OF THE SAINTS PRAYERS FOR THEIR APPROACH³

I I desire to approach with my praise⁴ those Fravashis which have existed from of old the Fravashis of the houses and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces which hold the

¹ And not the evil Vayu which appertains to Angra Mainyu
Insert 3-4 of the good Zarathushtra's devotion

³ This chapter is said to be reserved for funeral occasions

⁴ Or I pray for his approach See Y XXVI

heaven in its place apart and the water yard, and cattle which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not misarry
 2 And I desire to approach toward the Fravashî¹ of Ahura Mazda and with my praise and for those of the Bountiful Immortals with all the holy Fravashîs which are those of the heavenly Yazads And I desire to approach the Fravashî of Gaeta Maretar (the life man) in my worship with my praise and for that of Zura hustra Spitama and for those of Kavi Vistaspa and of Isat vâstia the Zarathustrian with all the holy Fravashîs or the other ancient counsellors as well 3 And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashî whosoever it may be and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain) the pious woman or the girl of tender years the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here) year all) which are now worshipped from this house³ which are attentive to and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage 4 Yea I desire to approach the Fravashîs of the saints with my praise recounted (as they are) and overwhelming the Fravashîs of those who held to the ancient lore and the Fravashîs of the next of kin and I desire to approach toward the Fravashî of mine own⁴ soul in my worship with my praise and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual and with

¹ Fravashî seems a dative comp. ōt'

² Zarathustra's eldest son by his wife Padokh'shah he was rechief of priests according to tradition.

³ This Yasna was recited from house to house

The own soul notice the seeming direction between Fravashî and soul

praise and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly who are meet for sacrifice and homage because of Righteousness the Best!

YASNA XXIV

PRESENTATIONS

1 (And having approached these Haomas with our worship) we present them to Ahura Mazda (yea we present) these Haomas Myazdas Zaothras and the Baresman spread with punctilious sanctity and the flesh and the milk fresh as if living and lifted up with punctilious sanctity and this branch the Hadhânaêpata likewise lifted up with sanctity

2 (And having approached these Zaothras in our worship) we present them to the good waters having the Haoma with them and the milk and the Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with scrupulous sanctity and (with them) we present the Haoma water to the good waters and both the stone and the iron mortar

3 And we present this plant of the Baresman and the timely prayer for blessings, which has approached in the due course of the ritual and the recollection and practice¹ of the good Mazdayasnian Religion and the heard recital of the Gâthas and the timely prayer for blessings which has approached as the prayer of the holy lord of the ritual order and these wood bûets and the perfume (even) thine the Fire s O Ahura Mazda s son! and all good objects Mazda-made which have the seed or righteousness we offer and present 4 And these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the

¹ Or the memor sed rec tal and performance of its rites

blessed (and Righteous) and to the Bountiful Immortals and to the Fravashis of the saints even to the souls of the saints and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda the lofty lord of entire holy creation or sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise

5 And these we present hereby to the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitama the saint for sacrifice propitiation and for praise and to that of the people¹ who love Righteousness with all the holy Fravashis of the saints who are dead and who are living and to those of men who are as yet unborn and to those of the prophets who will serve us and will labour to complete the progress and renovation of the world²

6 And we present these Haomas, Myazdas Zaothras and the Baresmar spread with sanctity and the flesh and the milk (fresh as if) living and lifted up with sanctity and the Hadhanaepata branch

7 And we present these Zaothras to the beneficial waters having the Haoma with them and the flesh and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity and the Haoma water to the good waters with the stone and iron mortars (8) and this plant of the Baresman (and) the timely Prayer and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnan Faith³ and these wood-billets and the perfume thine, the Fires O Ahura Mazda's son¹ and all objects which are Mazda made and which have and are the seed of Righteousness these we offer and present

9 (Yea) we present these hereby to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright and who dispose of all

¹ Elsewhere perhaps erroneously as a proper name or read *angheus*

² *Paravi fasnakarê karâran*

³ And the heard recital of the Gâthas

aright the ever living ever helpful who abide with
the Good Mind (of the Lord and of His folk¹)¹

YASNA XXV

1 And we worship the Bountiful Immortals with
our sacrifice who rule aright and who dispose of all
aright and we worship this Haoma, this flesh and
branch (2) and these Zaothras for the good waters
having the Haoma with them and the flesh with them
and Hadhânapata and lifted up with sanctity and we
worship the Haoma water for the beneficial waters
and we worship the two the stone mortar and the
iron mortar (3) and we worship this plant for the
Baresman and the well timed prayer for blessings
which has approached (in its proper place within the
ritual course) and also both the remembrance and
the practice² of the good Mazdavian Religion and
the heard recital of the Gâthas and the well timed
prayer for blessings of the holy lord of the ritual
order which has approached and these wood billets
with the perfume (even) thine the Fires O Ahura
Mazda's son¹ and we worship all good objects which
are Mazda made and which contain (and are) the
seed of Righteousness

4 And we worship Ahura Mazda with our sacri-
fice the resplendent the glorious and the Bountiful
Immortals who rule aright and who dispose (of all)
aright and Mithra of the wide pastures and Râman
Hvâstra and we worship the shining sun the re-
splendent the immortal of the fleet horses

¹ See Y IV 4-20 which is repeated here Expressions are
curtailed

² Of the memorised recital and fulfilment

5 And we worship the ho'y w'nd which works on high placed higher than the other creatures in the creat'on and we worsnip this which is thine O Vayu and wh'ch appertains to the Spenta Mainyu within thee and we worship the most true religious Knowledge Mazda made and holy, and the good Mazdayasn'an law

6 And we worship the Māthra Spenta verily glorious (as t'is) ever the law pronounced against the Daēvas the Zarathustrian law and its long descent¹ yea we worship the good Mazdayasnian Religion and the Māthra which is heart devoted and bounteous (imparting heart's devotion to the saint) yea we worship the Mazdayasnian Religion maintained in the understanding² of the saint and we honor that science which is the Māthra Spenta and the innate understanding Mazda made and the derived understanding heard with ear and Mazda made

7 Yea we worship thee the Fire Ahura Mazda's son' the hol'y lord of the ritual order and we worship all the Fires and Mount Ushidarera (which holds the light³) Mazda made and holy the Yazad mount brilliant with sanctity 8 And we worship every hol'y spiritual⁴ Yazad and every hol'y earthly Yazad (who exists)⁵

¹ Its origin or dition

² Or maintaining the understanding

³ A sunrise or sunset mountain see the word applied intellectually just previously also previous notes on it

⁴ That is heavenly

YASNA XXVI

THE FRAVASHIS SACRIFICE AND PRAISE TO THEM

1 I praise invoke and weave my hymn to the good heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints (and having invoked these then) we worship the Nmânyas and the Visyas and the Zantumas, and the Dahyumas¹ and the Zarathustrotemas

2 And of all these prior Fravashis we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda which is the greatest and the best the most beautiful and the firmest the most wise and the best in form and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness 3 And (having invoked them) hither we worship the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant of effective glance the lofty the devoted the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy

4 And (having invoked them) hither we worship the spirit and conscience the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God²) and loved and strove after Righteousness the ritual truth and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift 5 And (having invoked it) hither we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Mareian the holy and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vistaspa the holy and that of Isa/ vastra the Zarathustrian the saint

¹ Dahyumas

² Of the early religion

6 And (having invoked them) hither we worship the life conscience intelligence soul and Fravashi of the next of kin of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth which are those of the dead and living saints and which are those also of men as yet unborn of the future prophets who will help on the renovation and complete the human progress with them all

7 And (having invoked them) hither we worship the souls of the dead [(Pazand) which are the Fravashis of the saints ¹] and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house of the Aethrapatis (the teachers) and of the disciples yea of all holy men and women (8) and we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples and of all the saints both male and female

9 (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfil the deeds of piety and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province and those of the saints without the province 10 We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women we worship all the good heroic bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan (the first created) to the Saoshyant, the victorious

11 Yea we worship all the Fravashis of the saints and we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints] ¹

¹ Whether a real distinction existed in the minds of these early writers between a Fravashi and a departed soul is hard to say. That a Fravashi was worshipped as existing before the person to whom it appertained was born may be owing to a poetical and not a dogmatic anticipation.

² From the Iranian Adam to the Christ of the resurrection, see Yast XIX 89-91

YASNA XXVII

PRELUDE TO THE CHIEF RECITAL OF THE
AHUNA VAIRYA

1 This is to render¹ Him who is of all the greatest our lord² and master³ (even) Ahura Mazda And this to smite⁴ the wicked Angra Ma nyu and to smite Aeshma of the bloody spear and the Mazanya Daêvas, and to smite all the wicked Varenya Daêvas

2 And this is to further Ahura Mazda, the resplendent the glorious to further the Bountiful Immortals and the influences of the star Tistrya the resplendent the glorious (and) to the furtherance of the holy man and of all the (bountiful and) holy creatures of the Bounteous Spirit

3-5⁵ 6 The Haomas are crushed O Mazda, Khshathra and Asha O ye Lords! Good is Sraosha who accompanies the sacrifice with the great glory⁶ and may he be present affording strenuous help

7 We are offering saving acts of wisdom and of worship with the sacred gift of the Ahuna vairya intoned with sanctity and of the two mortars here

¹ Dazdyâi would be an infin for an imperative but it here refers to the Ahuna We might say Let this render &c

² See Y XXXIV 5

³ Referring to the Ahû and Ratu of the Ahuna, but with erroneous application

⁴ Comp Vend XIX, 9 (Wg)

⁵ The Ahuna appears here in the MS with Y XXXIV 5 the âairyânâ and the Ashem Vohî

⁶ Mâza rayâ otherwise mâzarayâ with greatness (see Y XLIII 12)

brought forward with holy act and with that of the correctly uttered words likewise and therefore may they be to us the more saving in their wise significance

8-12 13 As the Ahû is excellent so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor may offer a nurturer 14 (What is Your Kingdom Your riches how may I be Your own in my actions to nourish You poor O Mazda? Beyond sea beyond all we declare You far from Daêvas and Khrasstra accused mortals 1)

15 We worship the Ahunavairya We worship Asha Vahista the most beautiful² the bountiful immortal

YASNA XXXV

YASNA HAPTANGHAITI

With the Yasna of the Seven Chapters which ranks next in antiquity after the Gâthas the already pass into an atmosphere distinct from theirs. The dialect still lingers but the spirit is changed. We have advanced personification of the Bountiful Immortals trace their personification seem more prominent while the ideas on which they are the personification already and to a proportionate degree have grown. The name Amesna Spenta occurs the Fravashis appear the Fire is worshipped the Earth and the Grass

To the waters to the Soul of the Kine and to all holy or clean

¹ Here the Parsis now manipulate the motto

See Y XXXIII 11-14 and Y I 3 and Y XII

² See Y XXXV 15. The Ashem follows

³ Or the best

⁴ The Yashê hatâm follows. For Y XXVIII-XXXIV see the Gâthâ Ahunavairya above pp. 19

beings the very word yazamaidê is applied for the first time. On the other hand many later objects of worship are totally absent the six seasons of the creation the five divisions of the day the five Gâthas Zarathust a the Baresman the Haomr &c. A considerable period of time must have elapsed since the Gathas had been composed and a lengthy period must also be supposed to have passed before the Avesta of the later type began to be sung and recited. The chapter numbered XLII in the Vendidad Sadah of Brockhaus (1850) and in the edition of Westergaard (1852), and numbered XLI 18-35 in Spiegel's edition seems a later addition but it cannot be very much later as it preserves the dialect and general features. An intentional imitation is not probable. Spiegel has included it with chapter XLI to preserve the number seven and if the entire section is to be called the Yasnas of the Seven Chapters it should most certainly not be numbered XLIII. I so number merely to follow Westergaard as do the first two parts of these translations from the Avesta. This portion should neither be incorporated with chapter XLI nor numbered as a separate one it should be noted as a supplement. The name Seven Chapters was of course given to the pieces long after their composition.

PRAISE TO AHURA AND THE IMMORTALS PRAYER FOR THE PRACTICE AND DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH

1 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy Lord of the ritual order and to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright who dispose of all aright and we sacrifice to the entire creation of the clean the spiritual and the mundane with the longing blessing of the beneficent ritual with the longing blessing of the benignant Religion the Mazdayasnian Faith

2 We are praisers of good thoughts of good words and of good actions of those now and those hereafter¹ [(Pâzand) of those being done and of those

¹ The Pahlavi translator as so often first saw the proper explanation here

completed] We implant¹(?) them (with our homage and we do this) the more and yet the more since we are (praisers) of the good (from whom they spring)

3 That therefore would we choose O Ahura Mazda¹ and thou O Righteousness the beautiful¹ that we should think and speak and do those thoughts and words and deeds among actual good² thoughts and words and actions which are the best for both the worlds (4) and together with these gifts (') and actions which are thus the best we would pray for the Kine (which represents the pure creation) that she may have comfort and have food from the famed and from the humble from the potent and the weak

5 To the best of good rulers (is) verily the Kingdom because we render and ascribe it to Him and make it thoroughly His own (?) to Mazda Ahura do we ascribe it and to Righteousness the Best
6 As thus both man or woman knows (the duty) both thoroughly and truly so let him or her declare it and fulfil it and inculcate it upon those who may perform it as it is 7 We would be deeply mindful of Your sacrifice and homage, Yours O Ahura Mazda and the best (and we would be mindful) of the nurture of the Kine. And that let us inculcate and perform for You according as we may and (for) such (praisers as we are)

8 Under the shelter³ of the ritual Order let us do so in the active fulfilment³ of its (precepts) toward every one of the (clean) and better creatures which

¹ Or we are praise s or adorners Tradition spreading from man to man so thoroughly implanting themselves comp perhaps nīd

² Hā ām n this sense

³ Or 'in the house and stall

are fit to live with a gift for both the worlds
 9 Yea, those words and sayings O Ahura Mazda!
 we would proclaim as Righteousness and as of the
 better mind (?) and we would make Thee the one
 who both supports (us in our proclamation) of them
 and who throws still further light upon them (as
 they are)

10 And by reason of Thy Righteous Order Thy
 Good Mind and Thy Sovereign Power and through
 the instrumentality of our praises of Thee O
 Ahura Mazda! and for the purpose of (still further)
 praises by Thy spoken words and for (still further)
 spoken words through Thy Yasna and for (still
 further) Yasnas (would we thus proclaim them and
 make Thee the bestower of our light)

YASNA XXXVI

TO AHURA AND THE FIRE

1 We would approach You two O (Ye) primeval
 ones in the house of this Thy holy Fire O Ahura
 Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! Who brings
 pollutions to this (Thy flame) him wilt Thou cover
 with pollutions (in his turn) 2 But as the most
 friendly do Thou give us zeal O Fire of the
 Lord! and approach us³ and with the loving
 blessing of the most friendly with the praise of the

¹ Or live stock

² Or in the service of the Fire so the Pahlavi consider also
 the occurrence of forms of va (e)z in the other sense in the close
 proximity Fire temples did not exist some shelter however
 must have been afforded Also the dual pouruye(ve) may refer
 to Anura and the Fire Comp Y XXX 3 Or is it at first?

³ Possibly but most favoured s/he whom (yam)

most adored Yea may st thou approach to aid us
in this our greatest (undertaking) among the effort
of our zeal

3 The Fire of Ahura Mazda art thou verily¹
vea the most bounteous one of His Spirit wherefore
Thine is the most potent of all names (for grace)
O Fire of the Lord! 4 And therefore we would
approach Thee (O Ahura!) with the help of Thy
Good Mird (which Thou dost imprint within us)
with Thy (good) Righteousness, and with the actions
and the words inculcated by Thy good wisdom!

5 We therefore bow before Thee and we direct
our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt
O Ahura Mazda with all the good thoughts (which
Thou dost inspire) with all the words well said and
the deeds well done with these would we approach
Thee 6 And to Thy most beautiful body do
we make our deep acknowledgments O Ahura
Mazda! to those stars (which are Thy body) and
to that one the highest of the high [such as the sun
was called]!

YASNA XXXVII

TO AHURA THE HOLY CREATION THE FRAVASHS
OF THE JUST AND THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS

1 Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda
who made the Kine (the living creation) and the
(embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the
clean) and the waters and the wholesome plants
the stars, and the earth and all (existing) objects

¹ Voi looks as if it represented vai here
See Y I I

that are good 2 Yea we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness beneficent (as they are) and with priority among the Yazads¹ who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support)

3 And we worship Him under His name as Lord to Mazda dear the most beneficent (of names) We worship him with our bones and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life) And we worship the² Fravashis of the saints of holy men, and holy women (4) and Righteousness the Best do we worship the most beauteous the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good

5 And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power and the Good Faith the good law of our thrift and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA XXXVIII

TO THE EARTH AND THE SACRED WATERS

1 And now we worship this earth which bears us together with Thy wives³, O Ahura Mazda! yea those Thy wives do we worship which are so desired from their sanctity 2 We sacrifice to their zealous wishes and their capabilities their inquiries (as to duty) and their wise acts of pious reverence,

¹ Or with the priority in the Yasnas (we who are hey) who abide

Tem is interpolated or shall we render We worship Him as in the F with adverbial use as in the Greek and often here?

³ Compare the Indian gnās The waters are wives as is the earth below they are mothers

and with these their blessedness their full vigour
 and good portions their good fame and ample
 weal h³ O ye waters¹ now we worship you you
 that are showered down and you that stand in pools
 and vats and you that bear forth (our loaded
 vessels²) ye female Ahuras of Ahura you that
 serve us (all) in helpful ways well forded and full
 flowing and effective for the bathings we will seek
 you and for both the worlds⁴ 1 Therefore did
 Ahura Mazda give you names O ye beneficent¹
 ones¹ when He who made the good bestowed you
 And by these names we worship you and by them
 we would ingratiate ourselves with you and with
 them would we bow before you, and direct our
 prayers to you with free confessions of our debt
 O waters ye who are productive² and ye maternal
 ones, ye with heat that suckles the (rail and) needy
 (before birth) ye waters (that have once been) rulers
 of (us) all we will now address you as the best and
 the most beautiful, those (are) yours, those good
 (objects) of our offerings ye long of arm to reach
 our sickness or misfortune⁴ ye mothers of our life¹

YASNA XXXIX

TO THE SOUL OF THE KINE &c

1 And now we sacrifice to the Kine's soul and
 to her created body and we sacrifice to the souls

¹ Vanguhis with K₄ &c

² Compare azi as applied to the Kine

³ Compare agnayas reading agnayô Or is it agnivau with
 a suffix va?

⁴ Or our sicknesses and welfare

of cattle who are fit to live¹ (for us), and whose (we ?) are such as are the same to them

2 And we worship the souls of those beasts which are tame and broken in and of wild herds and the souls of the saints wherever they were born both of men and of women whose good consciences are conquering in the strife against the Daēvas or will conquer or have conquered

3 And now we worship the Bountiful Immortals (all) the good and both those male², and those female³ (by their names) The males among them do we worship ever living and ever helpful who dwell beside the pious and the females thus the same 4 As Thou O Ahura Mazda¹ hast thought and spoken as thou hast determined and hast done these things (effecting) what is good therefore do we offer to Thee therefore do we ascribe to Thee our praises and worship Thee and bow ourselves before Thee and therefore would we direct our prayers to Thee Ahura¹ with confessions of our sin

5 And we thus draw near to Thee together with the good kinship of our-kindred with that of Righteousness the blessed and the good law of thrift and energy and the good Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)¹

YASNA XL

PRAYERS FOR HELPERS

1 And now in these Thy dispensations O Ahura Mazda¹ do Thou wisely⁴ act for us and with abun

¹ Live stock

² Yōi

³ Yaushā

⁴ A em noun mazda=medha

dance with Thy bounty and Thy tenderness¹ as touching us, and grant that reward which Thou hast appointed to our souls O Ahura Mazda! 2 Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and the spiritual and now as part thereof (do Thou grant) that we may attain to fellowship with Thee and Thy Righteousness for all duration

3 And do Thou grant us O Ahura! men who are righteous and both lovers and producers of the Right as well And give us trained beasts for the pastures broken in for riding² and for bearing (that they may be) in helpful³ companionship with us and as a source of long enduring vigour and a means of rejoicing grace to us for this⁴

4 So let there be a kinsman lord for us with the labourers of the village and so likewise let there be the clients (or the peers) And by the help of those may we arise

So may we be to You O Mazda Ahura! holy and true⁵ and with free giving of our gifts

YASNA XLI

A PRAYER TO AHURA AS THE KING THE LIFE, AND THE REWARDER

1 Praises and songs and adorations do we offer to Ahura Mazda and to Righteousness the Best yea, we offer and we ascribe them and proclaim them
2 And to Thy good Kingdom O Ahura Mazda!

¹ Otherwise understanding which protects (?)

² So the Pahlavi and Ner ³ Bezvantê ⁴ May we be rejoicing ()

⁵ Hakhemā (= a) replacing the aryaman of the Gathas and throwing light upon its meaning The form is irregular.

⁶ Or, holy rishis (e eshayō?)

may we attain for ever and a good King be Thou over us and let each man of us and so each woman thus abide O Thou most beneficent of beings and for both the worlds¹ 3 Thus do we render Thee, the helpful Yazad, endowed with good devices, the friend of them (who worship Thee) with (well-adjusted) ritual, so may'st Thou be to us our life and our body's vigour O Thou most beneficent of beings and that for both the worlds¹

4 Aye let us win and conquer (?) long life O Ahura Mazda¹ in Thy grace and through Thy will may we be powerful May st Thou lay hold on us to help and long and with salvation O Thou most beneficent of beings¹

5 Thy praisers and Māthra speakers may we be called¹ O Ahura Mazda¹ so do we wish and to this may we attain² What reward most meet for our deserving Thou hast appointed for the souls O Ahura Mazda¹ (6) of that do Thou bestow on us for this life and for that of mind³ Of that reward (do Thou Thyself grant this advantage) that we may come under Thy protecting guardianship and that of Righteousness for ever We sacrifice to that brave Yasna the Yasna Haptanghāiti⁴, the holy the ritual chief¹

YASNA XLII

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE HAPTANGHĀITI⁵

1 We worship You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals¹ with the entire collection of this Yasna Haptanghāiti

¹ See Y L 11

² Or abide

³ See Y XXVIII 3

⁴ Here the Haptanghāiti once ended

⁵ Of not greatly later origin.

(as we sum up all) And we sacrifice to the fountains of the waters and to the fordings of the rivers to the forkings of the highways and to the meetings of the roads

2 And we sacrifice to the hills that run with torrents, and the lakes that brim with waters, and to the corn that fills the corn fields and we sacrifice to both the protector and the Creator to both Zarathustra and the Lord

3 And we sacrifice to both earth and heaven and to the stormy wind that Mazda made and to the peak of high Hara'ti and to the land and all things good

4 And we worship the Good Mind (in the living) and the spirits of the saints And we sacrifice to the fish of fifty fins¹ and to that sacred beast the Unicorn² (3) which stands in Vouru kasha and we sacrifice to that sea of Vouru kasha where he stands (5) and to the Haoma golden flowered growing on the heights yea to the Haoma that restores us and aids this world's advance We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar (6) and to the flood streams of the waters and to the great flights of the birds and to the approaches of the Fire priests as they approach us from afar³ and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals al⁴!

See however Bundahis (West) p 66

² See Bundahis chap XIX also Darmesteter Ormuzd and Ahriman (pp 148-150)

³ Yoi yêvâ dûrât points to a migration of Zoroastrianism coming West (?)

⁴ For Yasna XLIII-LI see above pp 98-187

YASNA LII (SP LI)

A PRAYER FOR SANCTITY AND ITS BENEFITS

I I pray with benedictions for a benefit, and for the good even for the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), I beseech for them for the (generation which is) now alive for that which is just coming into life¹ and for that which shall be hereafter And (I pray for that) sanctity which leads to prosperity and which has long afforded shelter² which goes on hand in hand with it³ which joins it in its walk and of itself becoming its close companion as it delivers forth its precepts (2) bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us in waters⁴, appertains to cattle or is found in plants and overwhelming all the harmful malice of the Daêvas (and their servants) who might harm this dwelling⁵ and its lord (3) bringing good gifts and better blessings, given very early and later (gifts) leading to successes and for a long time giving shelter⁶ And so the greatest, and the best and most beautiful benefits of sanctity fall likewise to our lot (4) for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and the praise of the Bountiful Immortals for the bringing prosperity to this abode and for the prosperity of the entire creation of the holy,

¹ Or for that which is past? bavāthyâka.

² Dareghô vârethmanem s treated as a feminine, see also dareghô vârethmanô in verse 3

³ Have we hvô arwishâkîm as representing some more regular form?

⁴ Medicinal springs

⁵ This Yasna was celebrated from house to house

⁶ Varethmanô

and the clean (and as for this so) for the opposition of the entire evil creation (And I pray for this) as I praise through Righteousness I who am beneficent those who are (likewise of a better mind)¹ 5-8 (See Y VIII 5-8) (For Y LIII see Gâthas pp 190-194)

YASNA LIV² (Sp LIII)

THE AIRYEMA ISHYÔ

1 Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peersman draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zarathustra for the joyful grace of the Good Mind whereby the conscience may attain its wished for recompense I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired and may Ahura Mazda grant³ it (or cause it to increase)

2 We sacrifice to the Airyemâ ishyô the powerful the victoriously smiting the opponent of assailing malice the greatest of the sentences of the holy ritual order And we sacrifice to the bounteous Gathas that rule supreme in the ritual the holy (and august) And we sacrifice to the Praises of the Yasna which were the productions of the world of old⁴

¹ Citation from the Gathas (Y XLV 6)

² This piece in the Gathic dialect and in a metre supposed by some to be identical with that of the Vêhstois is very old and ranks with the Ahuna vai ya and Ashem Vohû in importance

³ Or can masata (sic) equal with his liberality or majesty leaving *yantu* to be understood with Ahuro?

⁴ The later Avesta notes the antiquity of the older

YASNA LV (SP LIV)

THE WORSHIP OF THE GATHAS AS CONCLUDED AND
THAT OF THE STAOTA YÊSNYA¹ AS BEGINNING

1 We present hereby and we make known as our offering to the bountifu¹ Gâthas which rule (as the leading chants) within (the appointed times and seasons of) the Ritual, all our landed riches and our persons together with our very bones and tissues our forms and forces our consciousness our soul and Fravashî

2 That which Gathas (may) be to us which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food yea which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing such are these Gathas to us guardians and defenders and (spiritual) food even such they are both food and clothing to the soul

And (may) they be to us (for this our offering) abundant givers of rewards and just and righteous ones for the world beyond the present after the parting of our consciousness and body 3 And may these (Praises of the Offering) come forth and appear for us with power and victorious assault with health and healing with progress and with growth, with preparation and protection with beneficence and sanctity and abounding with gifts² toward him who can understand yea let them appear (with free liberality to the enlightened) let them appear as

¹ Staota Yêsnya seems to designate that part of the Yasna which begins with the Srosh Yast

² Frarâti or possibly to the freely giving (the term is as a dative)

Mazda the most beneficent, has produced them, He the one who is victorious when He smites and who helps the settlements advance for the protection and the guarding of the religious order of the settlements which are now being furthered, and of those which shall bring salvation to us and for the protection of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean)

4 And may st thou (O Asha¹ who abidest within the Gathas¹) give to every holy man who comes with his prayer for a blessing and endeavouring to help himself² according to his good thoughts and words and deeds

5 We are therefore worshipping both the (divine) Righteousness and the Good Mind and the bountiful Gâthas that rule as the leading chants within (the times and the seasons of) the holy ritual order

6 And we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the product on of the ancient world those which are (now) recollected and put in use¹ those which are now learned and taught, those which are being held (in mind and so) repeated those remembered and recited and those worshipped and thus the ones which further the world through grace in its advance

And we worship the part(s) of the Praises of the Yasna, and their recitation as it is heard, even their memorised recital and their chanting and their offering (as complete)

¹ Conjectural see Ashem below ² Pahlavi avo nafsman.

³ Recited from memory and used in the ceremonial.

The part each part.

YASNA LVI (SP LV)

INTRODUCTION TO THE SRÔSH YAST

1 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda the most beneficent and holy of him) who is desired by us as at the first so at the last and so again may attentive Obedience be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda the most beneficent and the holy who (is so) desired by us

2 (Yea) let Sraosha (the attentive Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us [and for (their¹) souls] as at the first so at the last

And thus again may Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us [(and) for (their) souls]

3 Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright and dispose (of all) aright the good and for the worship of the good Sanctity or Blessedness who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us and to incite us May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters he the good and the holy² as at the first so at the last

¹ One might be inclined to render who are so desired by us for our souls But I think that the words are Pâzand to the preceding

² Or endowed with recompense

4 And so again may Sraosha (Obedience) the good be present here for the worship of the good waters and of the good¹ and bountiful Immortals and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us² Yea we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately who smites with victory and who furthers the settlements in their advance the holy lord of the ritual order³

YASNA LVII (SP LVI)

THE SRÔSH YAST⁴

1 A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best
&c

Propitiation be to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed the mighty the incarnate word of reason whose body is the Māthra him of the daring spear devoted to the Lord for (his) sacrificial worship homage propitiation and praise

¹ Of the female (feminine) names

² Or give to us The Ahuna and Ashem Vohû follow here
The Yēnirê ha am &c follows

⁴ As Sraosh is the only divinity of the later groups mentioned in the first four Gathas this Yast would seem to have claims to antiquity next after the pieces in the Gâthic dialect. The name Sraosha does not appear to have lost its meaning as an abstract quality notwithstanding the materialistic imagery. With Y XXVIII 6 in view where Sraosna finds the way to Ahura or finds His throne we may understand that the worshippers who first heard this Yast praised listening, obedience, or repentance as they did nearly all the remaining abstract qualities, together with their principal prayers and hymns themselves. The rhythm of the original has been somewhat imitated in the rendering given as it is difficult to avoid doing so and to avoid other objectionable features at the same time.

I

2 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the stately him who smites with the blow of victory and who furthers the settlements the holy (ruling) as the ritual lord Him do we worship who in ¹ the creation of Mazda the first adored Ahura with the Baresman spread who worshipped the Bountiful Immortals ² (first) who worshipped both the protector and the Creator, who are ¹ (both) creating all things in the creation

3 For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads with a Yasna loud intoned him Obedience the blessed with the consecrated waters and the good Blessedness, the lofty and Nairyā sangha the stately, and may he draw near to us to aid us he who smites with victory Obedience the blessed !

4 We worship Sraosha Obedience the blessed and that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself Him who has attained the most to this our ritual Him who has approached the nearest to us in our celebrations And we worship all the words of Zarathustra and all the deeds well done (for him), both those that have been done (in times gone by)

¹ So tradition.

² Sraosha was not reckoned as one of the Ameshōspends at the time of the composition of this verse

³ Comp Y XXX 4 but Ahura and some one of the Immortals or possibly Zarathustra (see Y XLII 2) must be meant here Angra Manyu could not have been worshipped as either protector or creator Observe the present tense

and those which are yet to be done (for him in times to come)

II

5 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately him who smites with the blow of victory who prospers the settlements the holy ritual lord (6) who first spread forth the Baresman and the three bundles and the five bundles and the seven bundles, and the nine till it was heaped for us knee high and to the middle of the thighs¹, for the Bountiful Immortals for their worship and their homage and their propitiation and their praise

For his splendour and his glory for his might and the blow which smites with victory I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads with a Yasna loud intoned him Obedience the blessed with the consecrated waters

III

7 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed the stately who smites with the blow of victory who furthers the settlements the holy ritual chief

8 Who first chanted the Gâthas the five² Gâthas of Zarathustra the Spîrâna the holy (with the fashion) of their metres³ and after the well constructed order of their words together with the Zand which they contain and the questions⁴ which they

¹ Le Barsom est de cinq branches dans les Darouns ordinaires Il est de sept branches pour le Daroun No naber pour le Breouesch et pour le Gahânba Il est de neuf branches pour le Daroun des Rois et pour celui du Mobed des Mobeds (Anquetil)

² This proves that the Gâthas were greatly older than this Yast That the Gâthas were originally five seems improbable yet they had become reduced to that number at this time

³ Naming?

Comp tat thwâ peresâ &c questions back and forth

utter, and the answers which they give for the Bountiful Immortals for their sacrifice and homage their propitiation, and their praise

For his splendour and his glory for his might

IV

9 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements the holy ritual chief (10) who for the poor among (our) men and women built a mighty house¹ who after sunset and with his levelled battle axe smites Aêshema bloody wounds and having struck the head casts him lightly (?)² (to the earth) as the stronger (smites) the weaker

For his splendour and his glory for his might

V

11 We worship Sraosha Obedience the blessed and the stately him who smites with the blow of victory who furthers the settlements the holy ritual chief as the energetic and the swift the strong the daring (and redoubted) hero (12) who comes back from all his battles (and comes from them) a conqueror who amid the Bountiful Immortals sits as companion at their meeting³

For his splendour and his glory for his might

¹ One of the earliest notices of the kind

² Hu + angh or can sas = to be inactive indicate a change?

³ This is possibly the origin of a late view which established Sraosha as one of the Immortals to fill up the number seven without including Ahura. The original seven spirits included Ahura

VI

13 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed who is the strongest and most persistent of the youths the most energetic and the swiftest who of all the youths strikes most with terror¹ from afar (?) [Be ye desirous O ye Mazdayasnians¹ of the Yasna of Obedience the blessed²]

14 Far from this house this vil'age and this tribe and from this country the evil and destructive terrors (shall) depart In the dwelling of that man in whose abode Obedience the blessed who smites victoriously is satisfied and welcomed there is that holy man who thus contents him (most) forward in the thinking better thoughts in the speaking truthful (ritual) words and in the doing holy deeds³

For his splendor and his glory for his might

VII

15 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who is the conqueror of the Kayadha and the Kaithya who was the smiter of the Lie-demon of the Daêvas the one veritably powerful the destroyer of the world who is the guardian and watchman over all the migrations (?) of the tribes

16 Who sleeplessly and vigilant guards the creatures of Ahura who sleeplessly and with vigilance

¹ =kat tarsten em comp for form katpavem

² Possibly an ancient interpolation Repetitions are curtailed

³ This verse 14 may be an ancient extension of the Yast it may of course be taken for granted that within a certain period at a very remote time the Yast was altered and improved

Verse 16 may have originally formed two sections the formula we worship &c having been omitted

saves them who with halberd raised on high guards all the corporeal world after setting of the sun (17) who has never slept in quiet since the two Spirits made the worlds [the bounteous and the evil one¹] who guards the homes of Asha who battles all (?) the days long and the nights with all the Daêvas [(Pâzand) the Mazanian] (18) nor terror stricken does he turn in affright before (their power) but before him all the Daêvas turn in affright against their will and rush to darkness in their fear

For his splendour and his glory for his might

VIII

19 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed whom Haoma worshipped on the highest height of high Haraiti he Haoma, the reviver², and the healer the beautiful the kingly³, of the golden eye (20) of the gracious words⁴ of the warning and the guarding words who intones our hymns on every side⁵ who possesses understanding and of every brilliant form, which abounds in many an explanation⁶ and revelation of the word, who has the first place in the Māthra

For his splendour and his glory for his might

IX

21 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed

¹ This seems a gloss its import is correct

² The renovator as completing the progress which makes things fresh frashôkereti

³ Possibly compare soma rāgan but see the following adjective and read as alternative brilliant

⁴ Possibly who excites to much speech

⁵ Comp parî gaêthê Y XXXIV 2

⁶ Having much Zand

whose house stands with its thousand pillars as victorious on the highest height of high Hiaiait self lighted from within star studded from without (22) to whom the Ahuna vairyā has come the axe of victory¹ and the Haptaŋghaiti and the Ishûsho māthra which smites with victory and all the Yasna sections

For his splendour and his glory for his might

X

23 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed by whose might and victorious power and wise conduct and (full) knowledge the Bountiful Immortals descend upon this earth of seven quarters

24 Who as teacher of the law will stride forth upon this earth with its dwellers in the body and ruling as he will

And in this Religion Ahura Mazda has been confessed² with faith and the Good Mind likewise with Him and Righteousness the Best and Kîshathra vairyā and Piety the Bounteous and the Universal Weal and Immortality and the question to the Lord asked and Mazda's lore is written

25 O Sraosha (Obedience) thou blessed one and stately³ protect us for the lives yea for both (for that) of this world which is corporeal and for the world of mind against unhappy⁴ death and the remorseless Wrath of rapine against the hosts with ill intent who lift their bloody spears against us

Comp Vend XIX 10

They listen to Obedience and so descend

² The meaning doth confess a correct would show a very great degeneration from the lore of the Gathic period

⁴ Lit evil

³ Bannered spears, spears with streamers

yea against their assaults whom the Wrath demon will set on and Vidhatu demon made 26 Therefore may st thou O Sraosha the blessed and the stately¹ grant swiftness to our teams soundness to our bodies and abundant observation² of our foes and their smiting (as we mark them) and their sudden death

For his splendour and his glory for his might³

XI

27 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness white and shining beautiful and powerful³ quick to learn and fleet⁴ obeying before speech heeding orders from the mind with their hoofs of horn gold covered (28) fleet⁵er than (our) horses swifter than the winds more rapid than the rain (drops as they fall) yea fleet⁵er than the clouds or well winged brds or the well-shot arrow as it flies⁵ (29) which overtake these swift ones all as they fly after⁶ them pursuing but which are never overtaken when they flee which plunge away from both the weapons (hurled on this side and on that) and draw Sraosha with them, the good Sraosha and the blessed which from both the weapons (those on this side and on that) bear the good Obedience the blessed plunging forward in their zeal when he takes his course from India on the East and when he lights down in the West

For his splendour and his glory for his might

¹ The hos s ² So the Pahlavi and Ner See also Y IX 21

³ Spenta can hardly mean holy here

⁴ Asava for asaya (?) } miswritten for v Comp grtava (form)

⁵ Reading angharmanayzu for anhê manayzu otherwise swifter than one's thought (?)

⁶ Lit not those after overtake Possibly these who all overtake those who fly with tu ned backs, who are not overtaken from behind

XII

30 We worship Obedience the blessed and the
 sately who though lofty and so high yea even to
 the girdle yet stoops to Mazda's creatures (31) who
 thrice within the day and three times of a night
 will drive on to that Karshvar *Hvaniratha* called
 the luminous as he holds in both the hands¹ and
 poses his knife-like battle-axe which flies as of
 itself and to cleave the Dævas' skulls (32) to hew
 down Angra Manyu the wicked and to hew down
 Rapine of the bloody spear to hew down the Dævas
 of Mazendran and every Demon god

For his splendour and his glory so his might

XIII

33 We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed
 and the stately lum who sits with victory both
 here and not here and on this entire earth And
 we worship all the (gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the
 blessed the mighty, and the strong whose body is
 the Māthra

Yea we worship (all the martial gifts) of
 Sraosha (Obedience) the mighty both armed with
 shielding armour and a warrior strong of hand
 skull-cleaver of the Dævas conquering the en-
 dowments² of the conqueror the holy conqueror
 of the conqueror and (his) victorious powers and
 the Ascendancy which it bestows and we worship

¹ Snauths must designate two-handed weapon

² Observe how far West the word Dæva is applied also if
 Hndvô is not in a gloss in verse 29 the fact proves that a vast
 geographical extent was familiar to the writers of the Avesta

³ Vanairis fern as vispau refers to attributes celebrated in the
 Yast

this Ascendency or Sraosha's (the same which conquers theirs), and that of Arsti do we praise as well
 34 And every house by Sraosha guarded do we worship wherein the blessed friendly Sraosha is befriended and made welcome where the holy man is far advanced (?) in holy thoughts, and righteous words and deeds

For his splendour and his glory for his might which smites with victory I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads with a Yasna loud intoned him Obedience the blessed with the consecrated waters and the good Blessedness the lofty and Nairyasangha the stately and may he come to us to aid us he who smites with victory Obedience the blessed!

YASNA LVIII (SP LVII)

THE FSHÛSHÔ MĀTHRA¹

1 (Introduction) (To the increase of our homage and praise of God) we offer this service² which as our defence may shield us which is worship⁴ with its beneficent results and Blessedness is with it of a verity⁵, and Piety as well [(Pâzand) and of this worship the results here mentioned are the well thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done] and let this our worship shelter us from the Daêva and from the evil minded man
 2 And to this worship do we confide⁶ our settle

¹ This piece in the Gathic dialect has claims to an antiquity as high as Y XII. It recalls the Gathas in many ways. The increaser of cattle is identical with the thirty tiller and is the typical sain.

² The Pahlavi has sîz a partial transcription but the word is obscure.

³ See nipâtû.

⁴ Nema wi h Kri.

⁵ Hâ + ge/, comp. Indian sa + gha/ or possibly from ha/.

⁶ Make mention of.

ments and persons for protection and care, for guarding and for oversight (3) and in this worship will we abide O Ahura Mazda¹ and with joy

In this worship do we exercise our choices and to it will we approach and to it will we belong even to revering worship will we confide our settlements and persons for protection and for care for guarding and for oversight to such worship as is the praise of such as You¹

MĀTHRA

4 The owner of herds is the righteous (one) and he is victorious when he strikes and thus he is the best [(Pâzand) we therefore offer (this) service (for herd owners)] for the herd-owner is the father of the Kine by the help of him who follows the ritual order and he is the father of the holy man as well and of the sanctified creation³ He is in verity the bestower of blessings and to him¹ O Ye Bountiful Immortals¹ we render (and his do we make) Your greatness Your goodness and Your (spiritual) beauty, and let this man, the cattle owner approach to guard over us and may he be our watchman together with the Righteous Order and with store for our nourishment and full generous liberality together with sharing of the goods⁶, with gentleness⁷ and with Ahura Mazda's sacred Fire¹

¹ Khshâmâvatô is often Gathic for You

² Pâzand as fshûshe is a plural and not Gathic Or, we make men cattle-owners (we invite them to be such)

³ The creation is mentioned in connection with the Kine The typical saint stands at the head of the clean creation

⁴ Wnose?

⁵ See below

⁶ Root v + dâ (dhushâ) so also the Pahl. barâ dah snîh

⁷ Ak'nîh va atashîê î Aîha mazd dad The word is difficult.

5 O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as Ye have made us, so do Ye save us holy men and santly women (as we are and steady in the faith)¹ Save us O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright and who dispose (of all) aright for none other do I know save You then with Your Righteousness² do Ye save us

6 And we offer hereby our thoughts and words and actions our herds and men to the Bountiful Spirit And may the creative stars of Ahura Mazda the Creator shine down on us and round about us³ with full herds and healthy settlements with healthy herds and healthy men and with all in vigour and endowed with the blessing of the Lord 7 Praise to Thee O Fire of Ahura Mazda! may st thou come to (us in) the greatest one of the engrossing interests⁴ for the help of the great (effort) for the joy producing grace of the great (interest of our cause) grant us both Weal and Deathlessness!

8 We sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna with the careful structure of their language which has reached the most its object And we offer (our homage) in our celebrations to Thy body O Ahura Mazda! the most beautiful of forms these stars and to that one the highest of the high [(Pâzand) such as the sun was called] Yea we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the world of old

Or male and female holy ones (the Amesha)

Y XXXIV 7

² Lit may we be closely beheld by the creative lights &c.

⁴ Allusion to maz. yzunghô

YASNA LIX (SP LVIII)

MUTUAL BLESSINGS

1-17 (See Y XVII 1-17) 18-27 (See Y XXVI 1-10) 28 We worship Verethraghna the Ahura made the victorious blow and we worship the Saoshvānt who smites with victory and we sacrifice to this Baresman with its Zaothra and its girdle (which is its band) and which is spread with sanctity. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul(s) and to (our) own Fravashī(s). 29 (See Y XVII 19) 30 (The Ratu speaks) O thou good (servant of the Lord) I may that be to thee which is better than the good mayst thou acquire that which is (thine) own¹ in the Zaothra mayst thou attain to that reward which the Zaothar has been obtaining² who is far advanced in his good thoughts and words and deeds.

31 (The Zaothar speaks) May that happen to you (likewise) which is better than the good and may that not happen which is worse than the evil and may that likewise not be my lot. 32 As (our) Anu (is) excellent so (is our) Ratu (one who rules) from his Righteousness a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor will offer a nurturer. A blessing is Asha called the Best &c. We sacrifice to the Ahuna varya we sacrifice to Asha Vahista³ the most beautiful the Bountiful

¹ Avonafshan.

² Hanyarmino zungha a periphrasis perfect.

³ Asha Vahista occurs as immediately suggested by the Ashem.

Immortal And we sacrifice to the Fshûsho mǎthra,
the by spoken¹ And we sacrifice to the entire col-
lection of the Praises of the Yasna (yea) to the
Yasna Praises which were instituted in the world
of yore

YASNA LX (SP LIX)

PRAYERS FOR THE DWELLING OF THE SACRIFICER²

1 Thus that better than the good may he ap-
proach, who shows to us straight paths of profit
appertaining to this bodily life and to the mental
likewise in the eternal(?) realms where dwells Ahura
yea, may he approach it, who is Thy worthy servant
and good citizen O Great giver Lord³!

2 May these blessings approach this house which
are the wise perceptions of the saints, the sacred
blessings bestowed through the ritual their guile-
less characteristics together with their recognition
of what is due and may the Righteous Order appear
for this village, and the Divine Sovereign Power
together with the benefit and glorious welfare (which
ensues),

3 And with these the long enduring prominence
of this Religion of Ahura's the Zarathustrian Faith
And may the Kine⁴ be now with greatest speed
within (the farm yard of) this house most speedily

Vost formula Asna Vahista seems therefore a proper name both
here and in the formula 1st one place explains the other (?)

¹ The ever spoken (?) The Yêhê and Ahuna follow

² Said on the visitation of farm houses by the travelling priest

³ See Y XLIII, 3

Gaur seems to mean here and used collectively, and haka
has the Indian sense of saka

may the rewarded sanctity and the strength of the holy man be here most speedily as well Ahura's lore 4 And may the good and heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints come here and may they go hand in hand with us with the healing virtues of (their) blessed gifts as wide spread as the earth as far spread as the rivers as high reaching¹ as the sun for the furtherance of the better men for the hindrance of the hostile and for the abundant growth of riches and of glory

5 May Sraosha (Obedience) conquer disobedience² with this house and may peace triumph over discord here and generous giving over avarice reverence³ over contempt speech with truthful words over lying utterance May the Righteous Oldergair the victory over the Demon of the Lie⁴

6 As in this (house) the Bountiful Immortals seek for good Yasnas and good praises from the blessed Sraosha (who governs here) and as they seek for (one) good sacrifice and act of homage (more especially their own) which is a good offering⁵ (to them) for (our) salvation and a good offering in praise together with a long continued offering of the entire self⁶ (7) let not then (their) brilliant glory ever desert this house nor the bright abundance nor an illustrious⁷ offspring legitimately⁸ born nor that long continued companionship which is the

¹ Farin wide stream long, sun high ² Isti se ms a dat ve

³ The name Sraosha has not lost its original meaning so of Âr(a)manî

Asha Drûgem?

⁴ Possibly good support

Pahl bñafsmān

⁵ Hvâthrava/ hwa eno determine the sense See hvâthrava/

⁶ The Pahl. does not necessarily render heavenly the word elsewhere means original

furtherance of that good blessedness which teaches concerning glory¹ 8-10 (= Y VIII 5-7)

11 In order that our minds may be delighted and our souls the best let our bodies be glorified as well and let them O Mazda¹ go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world² of the saints as devoted to Ahura (12) and accompanied by Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and the most beautiful¹ And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching come around about Thee and attain to entire companionship with Thee¹ And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order the best the most beautiful the bounteous Immortal¹

YASNA LXI (Sp LX)

1 Let us peal⁴ forth the Ahuna vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth and let us send forth the Asha Vahista in our prayer the same, and the Yēnhē hatām And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings (2) for the encounter with and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made) Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with and for the dislodgment of the Ka^hwardhas and of the individual Ka^hwardha³ the male and the female

Or welfare

² Aungān

³ The nom is difficult. The Ashem Vohū and Ahuna follow

⁴ De Harlez faisons retentir

⁵ The Panlavi perhaps diminishers, Darmesteter 'causing to pine

(to the last individual of each) (3) and for the encounter with and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female¹ and of the thieves and robbers of the Zandas and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers and of those who tamper with the covenants 4 Yea we send it forth for the encounter with and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints and of those who hate and to ment us for our Faith and of those who persecute the ritual and the tyrant full of death Yea let us peel them forth for the encounter with and the overthrow of the wicked O Zarathustra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws

5 And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us? Ave how shall we the prophets who are yet to serve and save (hvy people) drive the Drug from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars for the encounter with and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world²

YASNA LXII (SP LXI)

TO THE FIRE

1 I offer my sacrifice and homage to thee, the Fire as a good offering and an offering with our hail

¹ Cannibals has been suggested as the meaning here

² The later Zendiks are of course not meant unless we have an interpolation

³ Citation from the Gâthas Y XLV 6

⁴ Citations follow

of salvation, even as an offering of praise with benedic-
 tions to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! Meet
 for sacrifice art thou, and worthy of (our) homage
 And as meet for sacrifice and thus worthy of our
 homage may'st thou be in the houses of men (who
 worship Mazda) Salvation be to this man who
 worships thee in verity and truth with wood in
 hand and Baresman ready, with flesh in hand and
 holding too the mortar 2 And may'st thou
 be (ever) fed with wood as the prescription orders
 Yea may'st thou have thy perfume justly, and thy
 sacred butter without fail and thine andirons regu-
 larly placed Be of full age as to thy nourishment
 of the canon's age as to the measure of thy food O
 Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! , Be now aflame¹ within
 this house be ever without fail in flame be all
 ashine within this house be on thy growth² with in
 this house for long time be thou thus to the further-
 ance of the heroic (renovation) to the completion of
 (all) progress yea even till the good heroic (millennial)
 time when that renovation shall have become com-
 plete 4 Give me O Fire Ahura Mazda's son! a
 speedy glory speedy nourishment and speedy booty
 and abundant glory abundant nourishment abun-
 dant booty an expanded mind and nimbleness
 of tongue for soul and understanding even an
 understanding continually growing in its largeness
 and that never wanders , and long enduring virile
 power (5) an offspring sure of foot that never
 sleeps on watch [not for a third part of the day,
 or night] and that rises quick from bed⁴ and

Or for giving light

Or to give light ? comp ukshânô and uksha

² Read apuryâthrem

⁴ Or has the quickest place

likewise a wakeful offspring 'elpful to nurse or
 reclaim legitimate keeping over in men's meet-
 ings (yea) dra ing men to assemblies through
 their influence and word grown to power skilful
 redeeming others from oppression served by many
 followers which may advance my line (in pros-
 perity and fame) and (my) Vis and my Zantu and
 (my) province (yea, a offspring) which may deliver
 orders to the Province as (firm and righteous
 rules) 6 And may'st thou grant me O Fire Ah-ra-
 Mazda's Son that whereby instructors may be
 (given) me now and for evermore (giving light to me
 of Heaven) the best life of the sun's brilliant all-
 glorious And may I have experience¹ of the good
 reward and the good renown and of the long fore-
 casting preparaz or of the soul - The Fire of Ahura
 Mazda addresses this portion to all of whom he
 cooks the night and morning (meal) From all
 these O Spitama¹ he wishes to secure good care
 and healthful care (as guarding for salvation) the
 care of a true praiser 8 At both the hands of all
 who come by me I the Fire keenly look What
 brings the mate to his mate (thus I say to him) the
 one who walks at large to him who sits at home²
 [We worship the bounteous Fire the swift driving
 charioteer³]

9 And if this man who passes brings him wood
 brought (with good measure that is) with sacred care
 or if he brings the Baresma spread with sanctity or

¹ Bartholomae follows tradition boldly here rendering *aushalten*
fehalten and *gi far yehvû-âni()*

² Or is worshipped for

³ This curious gloss seems thrown in as a solace to the Fire for
 the expression preceding It avours of the *Rik*

the Hadhanaepata plant then afterwards Ahura Mazda's Fire will bless him contented not offended and in (its) satisfaction (saying thus) 10 May a herd of kine be with thee and a multitude of men may an active mind go with thee and an active soul as well As a blest soul mayst thou live through thy life the nights which thou shall live This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it wood (well) dried sought out for flaming purified with the earnest blessing of the sacred ritual truth¹ 11 We strive after the flowing on of the good waters and their ebb² as well and the sounding of their waves desiring their propitiation I desire to approach them with my praise³ 12 = Y III, 24 25

YASNA LXIII* (Sp LXII)

(See Y XV 2 Y LXVI 2 Y XXXVIII 3)

YASNA LXIV (Sp LXIII)

(See Y XLVI 3 Y L 6-11)

YASNA LXV (Sp LXIV)

TO ARDVI SŪRA ANAHITA AND THE WATERS

1 I will praise the water Ardvi Sūra Anāhita the wide flowing (as it is) and healing in its influence

¹ The Ashem Vohû occurs here

² Or falling

³ See as alternative Darmesteter's masterly rendering of the *Âtas Nyûis* 7-18

This chapter is composed of short passages from other portions of the Ysna collected together possibly for the purpose of filling out the number of sections to some figure no longer known

efficacious against the Dævas devoted to Ahura's
 lore and to be worshipped with sacrifice within the
 corporeal world furthering all living things¹ (2) and
 holy helping on the increase and improvement of our
 herds and settlements holy and increasing our wealth
 holy and helping on the progress of the Province holy
 (as she is)² 2 (Ardvi Sûrā Anāhita) who purifies the
 seed of all male beings who sanctifies the wombs of
 all women to the birth who makes all women fortu-
 nate in labour who brings all women a regular and
 timely flow of milk (3) (Ardvi Sura Anahita) with
 a volume so many from afar which is alone equal
 in its bulk to all the waters which flow or run upon
 earth which flows down with mighty volume from high
 Hukarva to the sea Vourukasha 4 And all the
 gulfs in Vourukasha are stirred (when it falls down)
 all the middle doth well up when Ardvi Sura Anahita
 rushes in when she plunges forming in them she
 whose are a thousand tributaries and a thousand
 outlets and each as it flows in or rushes out is a
 forty days ride in length to a rider mounted well

5 And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi
 Sura Anahita) goes apart dividing to all the seven
 Karshvars And this outlet to my river Ardvi
 Sura Anahita bears off its waters always in summer
 and in winter This my river purifies the seed of
 men and wombs of women and women's milk⁴

6 Let the saints Fravashis now draw near those
 of the saints who live or have lived or those born
 or yet to be born yea let them come near which

¹ The Pahlavi manuscript of this in which later case the meaning
 springs would be better

² Or farred from afar

³ Lit. sides

⁴ See Darmesteter's *Âbân Yast* I-V

have borne these waters up stream from the nearest ones (that lie below as the outlet pours away ¹)

7 Let not our waters be for the man of ill intent, of evil speech, or deeds or conscience let them not be for the offender of a friend not for an insulter of a Magian² nor for one who harms the workmen nor for one who hates his kindred And let not our good waters (which are not only good, but) best and Mazda-made, help on the man who strives to mar our settlements which are not to be corrupted, nor him who would mar our bodies (our) uncorrupted (selves), (8) nor the thief, or bludgeon bearing ruffian who would slaughter the disciples, nor a sorcerer nor a burier of dead bodies, nor the jealous nor the niggard, nor the godless heretic who slays disciples, nor the evil tyrant among men Against these may our waters come as torments As destructive may these come (?) may they come to him who has done those first (foul evils) as to him who does the last³

9 O waters! rest⁴ still within your places while the invoking priest shall offer

Shall not the invoker make offering to these good waters and with the inculcated words? (And how shall this be done?) Shall he not be tongue fettered, if he offers else than with the ritual? Shall (not) the words be so delivered as the Aêthrapaiti teaches? Where shall the blessings be (inserted)? Where the supplications with confessions? Where the gifts of those that offer? ⁵ (It shall be only thus) as Ahura Mazda showed before to Zarathustra, and as Zara

¹ O drawn up in vapours for the supply of the waters by the ra

² So the indication of the Pahlavi

³ 1-di

⁴ O, 'rejoice ye

⁵ Response

thustra taught the corporeal worlds (the men on earth)¹ Thou shalt pray the first petition to the waters O Zarathustra and after that thou shalt offer the Zaothras to the waters sanctified and sought out with pious care and thou shalt pronounce these words (as follows thus) (11) O ye waters I beseech of you this favour and grant ye me this great one in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for the bettering (of my state) with a never failing truth O ye waters I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds (which gives) power (to its holder) and for an offspring self dependent whom multitudes will bless and for whose wasting or defeat or death or vengeful punishment or overtaking no one prays 12 And this do I beseech of you O waters this O ye lands and this ye plants¹ This wealth and offspring I beseech of You O Ye Bountiful Immortals who rule aright who dispose (of all) aright O Ye good beings male and female² givers of good things, and this I beseech of you, O ye beneficent mighty and overwhelming Fravashis of the saints and this (of thee) O Mithra of the wide pastures and this of thee O blest and stately Sraosha and of thee O Rashna the most just and of thee O Fire Ahura Mazda's son and of thee O lofty lord the royal Apām napât of the fleet horses aye of You all, ye Yazads, bestowers of the better gifts and holy 13 And this do ye therefore grant me O ye holy waters and ye lands³

14 And grant me likewise what is still greater than this all and still better than this all and more

¹ Powerful

² Some of the names are in the feminine

³ Here repeat as above from O ye plants to givers of the better thing and holy

beatiful, and more exceeding precious (and that is Immortality and Welfare¹) O Ye Yazads holy and ruling mightily, and powerful at once and grant it speedily according to this Gâthic (?) word (Yea) by veritable grace let that be done² (?) for us which is most promotive of our weal 15 And according to this further word again Grant me Thou who art maker of the Kine the plants and the waters, Immortality and likewise Weal O Ahura Mazda Thou most bounteous Spirit And grant me these two eternal gifts through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine³

16-18 (See Y XV, 2, Y LVI 3-4⁴)

YASNA LXVI (SP LXV)

TO THE AHURIAN ONE⁵

1 I am now offering this Zaothra here with sanctity⁶ together with the Haoma and the flesh and the Hadhanaepata lifted up with sacred regularity as to thee O Ahurian One for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda of the Bountiful Immortals of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda the ritual's lofty lord 2 Y VII 5-19 3 Y XXII XXVIII 24-27

YASNA LXVII (SP LXVI)

1-4 (See Y XXIII 1-4 replacing I desire to approach with sanctity by I offer with sanctity see also Y VII, 24) 5-7 (See Y XXXVIII 3-5)

¹ See below

² See Y L 11

³ See Y LI 7

The Ahuna and Ashem Vohu follow

⁴ I should say Aīdvi Sura Anahita see Y LXVIII, 10 where the good waters are addressed as Ahurian Ones of Ahura

⁵ Or 'for a blessing.

YASNA LXVIII¹ (Sp LXVII)

TO THE AHURIAN ONE AND THE WATERS

1 We offer this to thee, O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura¹ as a help¹(?) for life If we have offended thee let this Zaothra then attain to thee (for satisfaction) for it is thine with its Haoma and its milk and its Hadhanaepata 2 And may'st thou approach to me for milk and for libation O Zaothra¹ as health for healing and for progress for growth and in preparation for ceremonial merit¹ for good renown for equanimity and for that victory which makes the settlements advance

3 Yea we worship thee with sacrifice O thou Ahuran (daughter) of Ahura with the Zaothras of the good thought and we worship O Ahura one with the Zaothras of the good word and deed (4) for the enlightenment of the thoughts and words and actions for preparation for the soul for the settlements advance and to prepare the saints endowed with ritual merit

5 And grant me O thou Ahurian One¹ Heaven, and to have an offspring manly and legitimate who may promote my house my village my tribe and province, and the authority thereof

6 We sacrifice to thee, O thou Ahurian one¹ And we sacrifice to the sea Vourukasha and to all waters upon earth whether standing or running or waters of the well or spring-waters which peren

¹ The Pahlavi translator saw the root av in this sense here with K₄ 11 P6 but the form is strange

² So the Pahlavi indicates with no impossible suggestion

nally flow, or the drippings of the rains or the irrigations of canals 7 With this hymn from the (spirit of) the Yasna do we worship thee and with the homage which it offers as it is the most legitimate¹ Yasna and homage of them (all) because of Righteousness the Best. We sacrifice to the good waters and to the best which Mazda created 8 And we sacrifice to the two to the milk and to the libation which make the waters flow and the plants sprout forth opposing therein the Dragon Daêva made, for the arrest of that cheat the Pairika and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the disturber and destroyer of our Faith) and of the unholy tyrant full of death, and of the human Daêva (worshipper) of hateful malice (and intent)

9 And mayst thou hear our sacrificial chants, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura¹ Yea be propitiated by our Yasna, O Ahurian one¹ and so mayst thou be present² at our Yasna mayst thou come to us to help as we chant our full offered Yast, with the full offering of Zaothras

10 If any man shall sacrifice to you O ye good waters the Ahurian ones of Ahura¹ with the best and most fitting Zaothras offered piously (11) to that man ye give both splendour and glory with health and vigour of the body and prominence of form, yea to him ye give possessions which entail abundant glory and a legitimate scion and a long enduring life, and (Heaven at the last) the best life of the saints, shining, all glorious 12 And to me also do ye now give it, to me who am offering this Yasna as a priest³

¹ Or virtuous, with Darmesteter

² Mayst thou sit

³ Zôîô : yastar hômanam

(Response¹) And to us Mazdayasniāns who are likewise offering sacrifice do ye grant (both the desire and knowledge of the path that is correct²) to us colleagues, and disciples Aēthiada is and Aēthryas, men and women as well as children and maidens of the field (13) who think good only for the overwhelming of oppression and of malice in the raids of the invader and in face of foes who hate Grant to us both the desire³ of and the knowledge of that straightest path the straightest because of Righteousness and of (Heaven) the best life of the Saints shining all glorious As the Ahu is excellent so is the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda And the kingdom (14) for Ahura which to the poor may offer nurture 14 (The Zaothar speaks) I beseech with my benediction for a safe abode for a joyful and a long abode for the dwellers in this village from whence these Zaothras (which I offer come) And I pray in my benediction for a safe abode and a quiet and a joyful one and a long abiding to every Mazdayasniān village and for a succour even with my wants for a succour with salutations of salvation and for one with praises O Fire⁴ and for thee O Ahurīar one of Ahura¹ do I ask the fullest Yact

15 And I pray for (?) Rāman *Hvastra* for this Province and for healthfulness and healing And I pray for it with my blessing for you pious men for all And I pray for him who is saintly with (true) goodness whosoever he may be between heaven

¹ Or the priest continues speaking for the people. ² See below.

³ Or this desire the knowledge. ⁴ Or, of the Fire

and the earth, for a thousand healing remedies, and for ten thousand of the same

16-19 (See Y VIII, 5-8) 20 Thus may it happen as I pray 21 And by this may I gain¹ (that) blessing the good Blessedness (our sanctity rewarded) And we address and we invoke religious zeal and capability and the waters with our Yasna² thus O ye good waters¹ since (they are) yours do ye as you are asked grant splendour and grant glory ye who are well able so to give and do ye, O ye waters¹ grant (once more) that helpful blessing which was gained from you of old¹

22 Praise (be) to Ahura Mazda and to the Bountiful Immortals Praise (be) to Mithra of the wide pastures Praise to the fleet horsed sun Praise to (the star which so we name, and with this sun) Ahura Mazda's eyes Praise to the Kine³ (the herds of blessed gift) Praise to Gaya (Maretan) and to the Fravashî of Zarathustra (first of) saints yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living and to those just passing into life and to those of days to come 23 And do Thou then Ahura as in answer to these our prayers and songs of praise, cause us to prosper to salvation through Thy Good Mind the Sovereign Power and Thy Righteous Order (in Thy ritual and law⁴)¹

¹ Or, the good wisdom from the second dâ (good adjustment)

² Passages follow from Y XXXVIII 2-5

³ The Gathic Kine

⁴ See Y XXXIII 10 Citations follow from Y XXXVI, 6 Y XLIII 6, also the Ashem and Y III 24 25 then Y XLVII, 1-7 Then the words we worship the chapter Spentâ manyu from the beginning then the Yēnhē hatām

YASNA LXIX (SP LXVIII)

This chapter is composed of fragments see Y XV 2 and Y LI 1 and 22

YASNA LXX (SP LXIX)

TO THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS AND THE
INSTITUTIONS OF RELIGION

1 I would worship these (the Bountiful Immortals) with my sacrifice, those who rule aright and who dispose (of all) aright and this one (especially) I would approach with my praise (Ahura Mazda) He is thus hymned (in our praise songs) Yea we worship in our sacrifice that deity and lord who is Ahura Mazda the Creator the gracious helper the maker¹ of all good things and we worship in our sacrifice Zarathustra Spâtama that chieftain (of the rite)

2 And we would declare those institutions established for us exact (and undeviating as they are) And I would declare forth those of Ahura Mazda, those of the Good Mind and of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and those of Khshatra vairya (the Realm to be desired) and those of the Bountiful Aramaiti (the Piety within us) and those of Wealth and Immortality and those which appertain to the body² of the Kine and to the Kine's soul and those which appertain to Ahura Mazda's Fire (3) and those of Sraosha (Obe

¹ Reading tashvzunghem(?) (comp dadhvzunghem) according to the indication of the Pahlavi

² Tashan with change of accent So the Pahlavi indicates

dience) the blessed and of Rashnu the most just and those of Mithra of the wide pastures and of (the good and) holy Wird and of the good Mazda yasnian Religion and of the good and pious Prayer for blessings and those of the good and pious Prayer which frees one from belying and the good and pious Prayer for blessing against unbelieving words¹ 4 (And these we would declare) in order that we may attain unto that speech which is uttered with (true) religious zeal or that we may be as prophets of the provinces that we may succour him² who lifts his voice (for Mazda³) that we may be as prophets who smite with victory the befriended of Ahura Mazda and persons the most useful to Him⁴ holy men (indeed) who think good thoughts and speak good words and do good deeds 5 That he may approach us with the Good Mind⁵ and that (our souls) may advance in good let it thus come yea how may my soul advance in good? let it thus advance⁶

6 We praise the flood and ebb of the good waters and their roar and that high Ahura the royal Apām napāt the glittering one of the fleet horses and this for the sacrifice and homage and propitiation and praise of the entire holy creation and may Sraosna (Obedience) be here (to aid us) 7 (Yea) we sacrifice to Sraosha Obedience the blessed⁷

¹ Read the gloss o the Pahlavi in Visp IX 3 anēranīhā.

² Or barentu let them lift

³ Y XXXI 12

⁴ See Y XXXI 22

⁵ Y XLIV 1

⁶ Y XLIV 8

⁷ The Yenê hatām

YASNA LXXI (SP LXX)

THE YASNA CONCLUDING

1 Frashaostra the holy asked the saintly Zarathustra Answer me O thou most eminent Zarathustra what is (in very truth) the memorised recital of the rites?

What is the completed delivery of the Gâthas¹?
 2 Upon this Zarathustra said (It is as follows) We worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice (as) the holy lord of the ritual order and we sacrifice to Zarathustra likewise as to a holy lord of the ritual order and we sacrifice also to the Fravashi of Zarathustra the saint And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals (the guardians) of the saints 3 And we sacrifice to (all) the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints of the bodily (world on earth), and of the mental (those in Heaven) And we worship that one of ritual lords who attains the most his ends and we sacrifice to that one of the Yazads lords of the ritual order who is the most strenuous who gains the most who reaches most to what he seeks even that well timed Prayer which is the prayer of that holy ritual lord, and which has approached the nearest (to us for our help)

4 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy lord of

¹ This while very ancient as regards us is of course not genuine in its present shape It was doubtless composed long after Frashaostra and Zarathustra had ceased to live It may be however an expansion of an earlier document

The Amesha Spenta of the holy ones

the ritual order, and we worship His entire body¹ and we worship the Bountiful Immortals all and we worship all the ritual lords And we sacrifice to the entire Mazdayasnian Faith And we worship all the sacred metres

5 And we worship the entire bounteous Māthra, even the entire system of the Faith set up against the Daēvas and we worship its complete and long descent And we sacrifice to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and we worship all the good heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints
6 And we worship all the holy creatures which Mazda created, and which possess the holy institutions² which were established holy in their nature³ which possess the holy lore and the holy sacrifice, which are holy, and for the holy, and to be worshipped by the holy And we worship all the five⁴ Gāthas the holy ones and the entire Yasna [its flow and its ebb⁵ and the sounding (of its chants)]
7 And we sacrifice to all the Praises of the Yasna and to all the words which Mazda spake which are the most fatal to evil thoughts and words and deeds, (8) and which designate⁶ the evil thought, and word and deed and which then cut down and fell every evil thought, and word and deed [(Pāzand) One would think of it as

¹ The heavenly bodies are thus termed elsewhere and the sun is called his eye { written for 11

² Possibly were created pure

³ 'Shaped holy

⁴ Or are worshipped as holy, vahmyāka, or yēsnyāka.

⁵ This figure is too advanced to be probable The text has been disturbed. The words describe the waters elsewhere

⁶ So with the Pahlavi referring the word to the third kar the root of khratu passive (?) form with active sense It also, however not impossibly might mean cut around preparatory to felling

when the fire cuts sucks out and consumes the dry wood which has been sanctified and carefully selected (for its flame)] And we sacrifice to the strength the victory the glory, and the speed of all these words (as they go forth for their work) 9 And we sacrifice to all the springs of water and to the water streams as well and to growing plants and forest trees¹ and to the entire land and heaven and to all the stars and to the moon and sun even to all the lights with out beginning (to their course) And we sacrifice to all cattle and to the aquatic beasts and to the beasts that live on land and to all that strike the wing and to the beasts that roam the plains and to those of cloven hoof 10 And to all Thy good and holy female (creatures) in the creation do we sacrifice (O Thou who art) Ahura Mazda² the skilful maker³ on account of which Thou hast made many things and good things (in Thy world) And we sacrifice to those male creatures in the creation which are Thine and which are meet for sacrifice because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best) And we sacrifice to all the mountains brilliant with holiness and to all the lakes which Mazda created and to all fires And we sacrifice to all the truthful and correctly spoken words (11) even those which have both rewards and Piety within them Yea we worship (you) for protection and shielding for guarding and watching and may ye be to me for preparation

I call upon the Gâthas here the bountiful holy ones

¹ Elsewhere rendered stems

² Not determined like the course of a planet

³ We should expect the vocative after Thy

ruling in the ritual order yea we sacrifice to you (O ye Gathas¹) for protection and shielding for guarding and watching Mine may ye be as a preparation For me for (mine) own soul I call on (you)¹ and we would worship (you) for protection and for shielding for guarding and for watching 12 And we sacrifice to Weal the complete welfare holy and ruling in its course in the ritual order and we sacrifice to Deathlessness (the immortal being of the good) holy and ruling in the ritual order And we sacrifice to the question of the Lord and to His lore the holy chiefs and to the heroic Haptanghâti the holy lord of the ritual order 13 (Frasha) Let the holy Zarathustra himself seek out a friend and a protector And I say² to thee (O Zarathustra) to make to thee a friend holy beyond the holy and truer than the true for that is the better thing for he is evil who is the best to the evil and he is holy to whom the holy is a friend³ (14) for these are the best of words those which Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathustra

And⁴ do thou, O Zarathustra! pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life 15 For if, O Zarathustra! thou shalt pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life I Ahura Mazda, will keep your soul away from Hell Yea so far away shall I hold it as is the breadth and extension of the earth [(Pâzand) and the earth is as wide as it is long]

16 As thou dost desire, O holy (one)! so shalt thou be holy shalt thou cause (thy) soul to pass over

¹ Or I would invoke (mine) own soul see verse 18

² Possibly the rejoinder of Frashaostra, or these are the best words referred to in verse 14 but the section is a dialogue

³ Y XLVI 6

⁴ Ahura speaks

the *Kinvat* Bridge holy shalt thou come into Heaven
Thou shalt in one the *Gātha* *Us avaiti* reciting the
salvation hail¹

17 We sacrifice to the active man and to the man
of good intent for the hindrance of darkness of
wasting of the strength and life, and of distraction
And we sacrifice to health and healing to progress
and to growth, for the hindrance of impurity and of
the diseases of the skin

18 And we sacrifice to thee (*Yasna*) ending words
to those which end the *Gāthas* And we sacrifice to
the bounteous Hymns themselves which rule in the
ritual course the holy ones

And we sacrifice to thee Praise-songs of the *Yasna*
which were the products of the world of yore yea
we sacrifice to all the *Staota Yēsnya* hymns And we
sacrifice to (our) own soul and to (our) *Fravashi*
19-21 (See *Y VI* 14-16) 22 I praise, invoke and
I weave my song to the good heroic bountiful
Fravashis of the saints, to those of the house
and of the village the district and the province and
to those of the *Zarathustrotemas* 23 And we sacri-
fice to the Fire, *Ahura Mazda*'s son the holy ritual
chief

And we sacrifice to this Baresman having the
Zaothra with it and its girdle with it and spread
with sanctity, the holy ritual chief And we sacrifice
to *Apām-napat*, and to *Na rya sang'ha* and to that
Yazad the wise man's swift Curse

And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead [which
are the *Fravashis* of the saints] 24 And we sacri-
fice to that lofty Lord who is *Ahura Mazda* Himself

¹ *Y XLIII*, 1 follows.

² Diseases arising from filth

25 And we pray (again) for the Kine (once more with these gifts and (ceremonial) actions which are the best¹ 26-28 (See Y VIII 5-7) 29-31 (See Y LX 11-13)

YASNA LXXII (See Y LXI)

¹ See Y XXXV 4 Y XLVIII 6

VISPARAD





VISPARAD I¹

1 I announce ² and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the lords ³ of the spiritual creatures and to the lords of the earthly creatures to the lords ³ of those which live under the waters and to the lords of those which live upon land to the lords of those which strike the wing and to the lords of those which roam (wild) upon the plains to the lords of those of (home beasts) of the cloven hoof holy lords of the ritual order

2 I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Yearly festivals the lords of the ritual order to Maidhyôzarema the milk-giver the holy lord of the ritual order and to Maidhyôshema the pasture-giver and to Paishahva the corn-giver, and to Ayâthrima the furtherer or breeder the spender of the seed of males and to Maidhvairya the cold ⁴ the holy lord of the ritual order and to Hamaspathmaedhaya the especial time for ritual deeds ⁵ holy lords of the ritual order

¹ This Visparad consists of additions to various portions of the Yasna and its several chapters generally follow the corresponding portions of the Yasna in the Vendidad Sadah. The word Visparad means at the chiefs referring to the lords of the ritual. Chapter I should be read immediately after Yasna I 9.

² Or I invite

³ Lords because ruling as chief objects of attention during their mention in the course of the sacrifice also, as in this case guardian over all of their class

⁴ So De Harlez admirably following the Pan. sardak (sic)

⁵ Pavan yazn kardarih

3 I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the settlements of the future one when the future¹ shall produce them as it were anew and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to the Praises of the Yasna² collected completed and much offered and to the Myazdas of the saints of the ritual male and female

4 And I announce and will complete (my Yasna) to the Seasons the lords of the ritual order and to the heard recital of the Ahuna vairya and to Righteousness the Best to him who has (?) our praise and to the Yēnhê hâtām the frequent chant of sacrifice³ the holy and ruling in the ritual order

5 And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ahunavairi the holy ruling in the ritual order and to those women who bring forth many sons of many talents Mazda given and holy lords of the ritual order and to that (chant) which has its Ahû and its Ratu⁴ (before it in the Yasna)

And I celebrate and will complete (my sacrifice) to the Yasna Haptanghâiti⁵ holy and ruling in the ritual order [and to the water Ardvî Anahita⁶]

6 And I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ustavairi the holy ruling in the ritual order and to the mountains which shine

¹ Aungha ryo a collective or zizanen a participle

² Here is praise to a part of the Yasna itself although not yet recited in the V S

³ Its chief word is yazamaidê it is 'the well sacrificed' the word often occurring

⁴ Or to him who is devoted to the Ahuna with its Ahû and Ratu (?)

⁵ Observe the priority of the Haptanghâiti, it should be read first

Interpolated

with holiness the abundantly brilliant¹ and Mazda made the holy lords of the ritual order

And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gatha Spenta manyu the holy ruling in the ritual order and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to Verethiaghna (the blow of victory²) Ahura given, the holy lord of the ritual order

7 And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra holy ruling in the ritual order and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to Raman Hvâstra the holy lords of the ritual order And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the Gâtha Vahistôistî, the holy ruling in the ritual order And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the good and pious Prayer for blessings the benediction of the pious³ and to that Yazad, the redoubted and swift Curse of the wise the holy lord of the ritual order

8 And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Airyemâ ishvô the holy lord of the ritual order and to the Fshushô mâtîra, and to that lofty lord Hadhaokhdha⁴ the holy lord of the ritual order

9 And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the questions asked of Ahura and to the lore of Ahura to the Ahurian Dazvyuma (Dahyuma), and to the Ahurian Zarathustrôtêma, holy lords of the ritual order, and to the farm house with its pastures

¹ This sense is most obvious

² The fiend smiting is the common meaning of *vritrahâ* but *verethra* is clearly victory in Zerd, *vritra* also equals defensive valour

³ Can *dahmahêza* mean 'the departed saint here'?

⁴ A lost part of the Avesta, no fragments of which only survive

which give pasture to the Kine of blessed gift, and to the holy cattle-breeding man¹

VISPARAD II²

1 In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the lords of (the ritual) which are spiritual with my praise and I desire to approach the earthly lords (as well) And I desire to approach the lords of the water with my praise and the lords of the land and I desire to approach with my praise those chiefs which strike the wing and those which wander wild at large and those of the cloven hoof, who are chiefs of the ritual (in their turn)

2 In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the holy Yearly festivals with my praise, the lords of the ritual order Maidhyô zaremaya the milk giver and Maidhyô shema, the pasture giver, and Pait'shahya the corn giver, and Ayathrima the breeder, the spender of the seed of males Maidhy ârya the cold, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual duties the holy lords of the ritual order

3 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the future one of the settlements with my praise the holy lord of the ritual order when the future one shall produce (them as it were anew)

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all these chieftains of the ritual with my praise whom Ahura Mazda mentioned to Zarathustra

¹ Comp Y XXIX 2 Y I 10-23 follows

² Visparad II should be read after Yasna II 8 of which it is an extension.

for sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best)

4 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Thee¹ the lord, with my praise Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the spiritual lord and regulator² of the spiritual creatures [the lord and regulator of the spiritual creation]

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach thee Zarathustra Spitâma with my praise the terrestrial (lord and regulator) of the terrestrial creation [the lord and regulator of the terrestrial creation]

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to worship those women with my praise who are well portioned¹, and of good parentage and who are stately in their growth, yea I desire to approach that chant in my praise which has the Ahû and the Ratu [for He is verily the one who has the Ahû and the Ratu, that is, Ahura Mazda²]

And I desire to approach the heroic Yasna Hap tanghâiti in my praise the holy and ruling in the ritual order and Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, the holy and ruling in the ritual order

8 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gatha Ustavaiti with my praise the holy and ruling in the ritual order and I desire to approach those mountains³ with my praise which shine with holiness abundantly glorious Mazda made the holy lords of the ritual order and the Gatha Spentâ mainyu and Verethraghra, the blow of victory Mazda-given the holy lord of the ritual order and the Victorious Ascendency (which it bestows)

9 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Vohu khshathra with my praise the holy and ruling in the ritual order and Mithra of the wide pastures and Râman Hvâstra and the Gatha Vahistôisti and the pious and good prayer for blessings, and the pious and holy man, and that Yazad the redoubted and swift curse of the wise

10 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Airyemâ ishyo with my

¹ So the Panavi

² Erroneous Pâzand

³ This sentence affords support to my rendering of âyêsê as expressing a desire to approach rather than one for the approach of (the Genius of) the Mountain, at the same time the latter idea may very possibly be the correct one (Expression are curtailed)

praise and the Fshushô-māthra and that lofty lord,
the Hadhaokhdha noly lord(s) of the ritual order

11 And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire
to approach the question asked of Ahura, and the lore
of the Lord (which he reveals in answer) and the
farm house of the man possessed of pastures and
the pasture produced for the Kine of blessed gift,
and the holy cattle breeding man¹

VISPARAD III

BEGINNING OF THE HAOMA OFFERING, ROLL CALL
OF THE PRIEST²

1 (The Zaotar speaks) (I call for) the Havaran³
and would have him here.

(The Ratu answers) I will come (and fulfil his
duties)

(The Zaotar speaks) I would have the Atare
vakhsha⁴ here

(The Ratu answers) I will come (and fulfil the
services which fall to his charge)

(The Zaotar) I would have the Frabaretar⁵

(The Ratu) I will come (and fulfil the services
which fall to his charge)

(The Zaotar) I would have the Âberet⁶ present

(The Ratu) I will come (for him)

Y II 10 follows Visparad II 11

² This chapter 1-5 follows Y XI 1-8 in the Vendidad Sâdah
so appropriately

³ The Ratu answers for all according to the rubric printed by
Westergaard but of later origin than the text. It arose from the
fact that the several offices were later united in that of the Ratu.
Originally the corresponding official answered to his title. The
Havaran was the Mobad who pounded the Haoma in the mortar

The Mobad who fed the Fire

The Mobad who aided the presentations ⁶ The water carrier

(The Zaoatar) I would have the Asnatar

(The Ratu) I will come (and do the duties which he serves)

(The Zaoatar) I would have the Raéthwiskar² to be here

(The Ratu) I will come (for him)

(The Zaoatar) I would have the Sraoshâvareza³ present the wisest one the most correct and veracious in his speech

(The Ratu) I will come 2 (The Zaoatar) I would have the Fire priest to be here and the warrior, and the thrifty tiller⁴ of the earth, and the house lord and the lords of the Vîs and the Zantû

3 And I summon the youth of holy thoughts, words and works and of good conscience, (yea) the youth of good speech given (in marriage) to his kin⁵ And I summon the province ranger and the itinerant of many arts, and the house mistress

4 And I summon the woman advanced in her holy thoughts and words and deeds, and well subordinated, whose ruler is her lord⁶, the holy one who is (as) the bounteous Aramaiti (yea) I summon even Thy wives O Ahura¹ And I summon likewise the holy man advanced in his good thoughts and words and deeds who is learned in pious lore and innocent of the Kayadha and by whose deeds the settlements are furthered in the righteous order

¹ The washer

The mixer (?) or the Mobad who attended to disinfections

² The Mobad who attended to penance

³ The typical layman

⁴ This important custom was fully treated in the lost Nask No 16 (or No 18 by another reckoning)

So the most but ratukhshahra means elsewhere ruling in the ritual as supreme

5 Yea we summon you, whoever you may be if only chiefs of the Mazdayasnians and we summon the Bounteous Immortals and the pious Saoshyants (the prophets for our help) the most correct and truthful in their speech the most zealous the most glorious in their thoughts the greatest ones and the powerful and we summon the Fire priests and the warriors and the diligent husbandman of the Mazda yasnian Faith

6¹ (The Zaotar) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen the Âtarevakhsha (announcing) speaks forth² to me.

(The Ratu [?]) So let the Ratu from his righteousness holy and learned speak forth

(The Ratu) As an Ahu to be (revered and) chosen the Zaotar (announcing) speaks forth to me

(The Zaotar) So let the Ratu from (his) righteousness holy and learned speak forth

(The Ratu) Thou art the announcer for us O Fire priest! [(Pâzand) It is the³ Zaotar (who is meant)]

(The Zaotar) I will come as th s Zaotar and recite the Staota Yêsnya with memorised intoning chanting and praise.

VISPARAD IV (Sp V)⁴

1 (Yea,) we sacrifice to the thoughts of the mind and to the good wisdom and to the good and blessed

¹ This section follows Y XI 9-10 in the V S preceding a section described as Y XI 59 60 r the B V S

² Probably in an imperative sense or with some infinitive

³ Read Ziotastî which contains sandhi. It seems a gloss to explain the Athraom (sic) It is zaotâ astî

⁴ This section preceding Y XI closed in the B V S, seems to me

sanctity, and to the good religious knowledge and to good health (of soul and body) [At their (several) seasons and with the presence of seasonable circumstances they are hymned ¹] 2 Confession is to be made for the Kine we Zarathustrian Mazda yasnians celebrate at the sacrificial time for the Myazda offering, at the time for the Ratufriti, the prayer for blessings, for the sacrificial worship, homage propitiation and praise of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean)

VISPARAD V (SP VI)²

1 I come to You O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser priest and invoker as a memoriser reciting (Your ritual) and as a chanter for Your sacrifice and homage Your propitiation, and Your praise, (yea for Yours) the Bountiful Immortals and for our preparation, (O ye holy Saoshyants!) and for your well timed prayer for blessings and your sanctification and for our victorious smiting of our foes, beneficial (as it is) for our souls, for ours the Saoshyants (with you), and holy 2 And I make my offering to You O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright and who dispose (of all) aright! (Yea) I offer You the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of my life as well

3 And I confess my belief in Thee, O Ahura

to belong properly after Yasna VIII and the Myazda offering with the Ratufriti

¹ Pâzand

² This piece should be read after Yasna XIV with which it is nearly identical. The language of the translation is slightly varied to relieve the effect of sameness

Mazda¹ and as a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathustra and in accordance with his Faith

VISPARAD VI (SP VII)¹

In accordance with the precept with praise and with the joyful reception of grace with Zaot'ras intelligently offered, with sacrificial words correctly spoken, I call the good Amesha Spenta by their names of beauty yea, I worship the Bountiful Immortals by their beautiful names, with the blessing of the ritual Order with the longing blessing of Righteousness the good

VISPARAD VII (SP VIII)²

1 We worship the (sacrificial) words correctly uttered and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the good Ashi, (the blest order of our rites) and Nairyasangha And we worship the victorious Peace as the unprostrated and unmoved And we sacrifice to the Fravashis of the saints and to the Kinvat Bridge, and to the Garô Nmana of Ahura, even Heaven the best world of the saints the shining and all glorious¹

2 And we sacrifice to that better path that leads to that Best World (as well) And we worship Arstât (Justice) the good which helps the settlements to advance and flourish benefiting them thereby that Arstât which is the Mazdayasnian Faith and (with her) we worship Rashnu the most just, and

¹ Nearly identical with Yasna XV

² This chapter should be read after Yasna XVII which it appropriately follows in the Vendidad Sâdah

³ Possibly the best (better) course of that best world

Mithra of the wide pastures And we worship Pareñdī the wealthy wealthy with a wealth of thoughts with a throng of words and with a breadth of actions [for she makes our persons agile (for good thoughts and words and actions)] 3 And we worship that virile defensive¹ Heroism which possesses men who think beforehand and heroic men which is fleeter² than the fleet stronger than the strong which comes to him who is endowed by God which when especially made theirs by men produces one who is a freer of the body And we worship Sleep³ the Mazda made, the gladdener of the herd and men 4 And we worship those things in the creation of the holy which are the ancient institutions, those formed before the sky the water the land the plants, and the Kine of blessed gift And we worship the sea Vouru kasha and the stormy wind which is made by Mazda and the shining heaven, of old created the first-made earthly object of (all) the earthly world

5 And we worship thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son¹ the holy lord of the ritual order and this Baresman having the Zaothra with it and the girdle with it spread out with sanctity the holy ritual chief and we worship Apām napāt (the son of waters)

¹ One might consider virile power which has men and heroes in the mind beforehand but varetu = gūrdih

² Āsyayau (sic) and takhmōtāryayau (sic) agree with feminines, possibly because of the male qualities referred to They might be said to be in apposition rather than in agreement with the feminine

³ Sleep is elsewhere an evil a Demon Būshyāsta rules it but this is untimely sleep see, on the other hand Y XLIV 5

VISPARAD VIII (SP IX)

1 With this word be Thou approached¹ with the proper word be Thou present here, Thou who art Ahura Mazda the holy together with the good Yazads who are the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright and dispose (of all) aright, together with fifty and a hundred and a thousand and ten thousand and millions and yet more

2 And to Him who rules the best let the Kingdom be²

VISPARAD IX (SP X)³

1 (I desire to offer my homage and my praise⁴) to the offered Haomas and Zaothras and to those also which shall yet be offered which smite victoriously and are foes of hatred and following in company (as they do) with the healing virtues of sanctity following also in company with those of Kīstī (religious knowledge), and with the remedies of Mazda and with those of Zarathustra and the Zarathustrôtema (2) and to the offered Haomas and Zaothras which accompany those remedies which belong to the holy disciple well versed in good devices⁵ and accompanying those of the itinerant also versed in good devices⁵ and accompanying those likewise of the good Mazdayasnian Faith and those of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings and of the pious and good veracity, and

¹ 'Mediated (? or known, madhayangha (uha)

² See Y XXXV, 5

³ This section should be read before Y XXII

⁴ Supplied necessarily from Visp X, 2 see its genitive

⁵ Or sciences (in some cases medical)

of the pious word against unbelief (3) for information and explanation, for preparation (?) and devotion for the libation and complete offering for the complete recital of the liturgy memorised as well, and to those Haomas which are purgent bounteous holy and offered with sanctity (and for a blessing) to those which are yet to be offered with sanctity and which are now being celebrated, and which are likewise in the future to be celebrated to those which are being pressed with sanctity and to those which are yet to be pressed (to these I desire to approach and to express my homage and my praise) 4 And I desire to express my homage and my praise to the strength of the strong and to the victorious blow of the mighty to the powerful Rectitude and Blessedness to Kist and the Priority for the powerful Ascendancy and to these powerful Yazads which are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose of all aright ever living, ever helpful who male and female, dwell together with the Good Mind (to these I desire in my homage and my praises to approach) (5) (yea I desire to approach for homage and praises toward) our Universal Weal and Immortality to the body of the Kine and to the Kine's Soul (And I desire to approach) the Fire of the spoken name¹, and toward that farm house which is sanctified and which has fields and comfort² and mercy (for the poor) (6) as a praiser with praise for the sacrifice homage which is this praise of Ahura Mazda of the Bountiful Immortals and of the holy and lofty Lord for the sacrifice and homage of the Lord that most attains his ends and which is this praise of that blessedness

¹ Having a Yast

² Here is an instance where *hvaâ hra* may mean comfort

which has approached us and on that well timed prayer for blessings offered in the ritual (7) which is likewise the praise of the *Māhira Spənta* (the bounteous word of reason) and of the *Mazdayasna* Religion and the Praises of the *Yasnas*¹ which is also that of all the lords of the ritual and of all the well timed prayers for blessings, for the sacrifice homage propitiation and glorification of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean)

VISPARAD X (Sp XI)

1 I desire to approach the *Arzahis* with my praise and the *Savahis* and *Frada dhafsha* and *Vidadhafsha* and *Vouribaresti* and *Vouragaresti* and this *Karsavar* which is *Hvaniratha*² 2 And I desire to approach the stone mortar with my praise and the iron mortar and the cup that holds the *Zaothra* and the hair (which stays the spilling³) and *Thv Baresman* spread with sanctity And I desire to approach the *Ahuna vairya* with my praise and the ritual prayers beside *Ahuna* and the standing offices of the *Mazdayasna* Faith

VISPARAD XI (Sp XII)

1 To *Ahura Mazda* would we present⁴ our offered *Haomas* and that which is lifted up as the most

¹ Perhaps the *Yasts* in the *Yasna* otherwise the latter portion of the *Yasna*

² This section follows *Y XXII*

³ The *varesa* consists (as used at present) of three five or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull which are tied to a gold silver copper or brass ring This can be used as long as the bull lives but as often as it is used it must be reconsecrated (Haug)

⁴ The wording is purposely varied in the renderings to avoid sameness

beneficial to Verethraghna (the blow of victory) which furthers the settlements and that which is offered to the good and holy king and that which is offered to the holy ruler which rules according to or in the ritual and we make known our Haomas to the Bountiful Immortals and to the good waters and we present our Haomas each to (our) own soul¹ and we announce our Haomas in our celebration to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean)

2 Yea we present these Haomas and Haoma-implements and these spread mats and these Myazdas, these stones, the first in the creation the stone mortar brought here with the yellow² Haoma in it and the iron mortar brought here with the yellow Haoma in it this Haoma water and this Baresman spread with sanctity, (3) these bodies, and (their) forces these striving Zaothras (that seek to find Thy grace) this holy Haoma and the flesh and the holy man and the saints innate thoughts even the Saoshyants innate thoughts

And we present this fresh milk as an offering now lifted up with sanctity, and this Hadhânaêpata plant lifted up with sanctity (4) and we offer and present these Zaothras with our celebration having the Haoma with them and the milk and the Hadhânaêpata to the good waters and offered up with piety And we present the Haoma-water in our celebrations to the good waters and both the stone and the iron mortar (5) and this branch for the Baresman, and the prayer for blessings uttered at the fitting moment which has approached (for our help in its order with the prayers), and the recollec-

¹ To the soul of the person who may be reciting

² Zâri with K₄

tion and practice of the good Mazdayasman law and the heard recital of the Gatl as the well timed prayer for blessings as it comes uttered by the saint (and for our help) and ruling (while it is spoken) as a ritual lord and these wood billets and the perfume even Thine, the Fire s O Ahura Mazda's son¹ and all good objects (which are ours) and Mazda made and which have the seed of sanctity (or are that seed)

6 Yea these we make known and we announce in this our celebration to Ahura Mazda (as our gr^{ft}) and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to Ashi (who is the recompense) and to Rashnu the most just, and to Mithra of the wide pastures and to the Bountiful Immortals and the Fravashis of the saints and to their souls and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lord and to the lofty lord (the Apām napa¹?) and to the Mazda the lord and to the well timed prayer for blessings as it rules in the order of our prayers for the sacrifice homage propitiation and adoration of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean)

7 Yea these we make known in this our celebration hereby for the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spātāma the saint, for its sacrifice homage, propitiation and praise and to the (Fravashi) of Anghuyū(?)¹ who hath loved righteousness together with all the holy Fravashis of the saints of those now dead and of those of the living and of those of men unborn or the prophets that shall serve us bringing on the renovation of the completed world 8-11, see verses 2-5

12 Yea we would make these known hereby in our celebrations to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule

¹ Here erroneously, a proper name as in Yast XIII. Possibly of that Zarathustrian world (period) which loved righteousness the word occurs after the name of Z. I think that 'y' should be v

aright and who dispose (of all) aright the ever living ever helpful who are good (?) and bestowers of the good who dwell with the Good Mind [(Pazand) for they who are the Bountiful Immortals abide with the Good Mind they who rule aright and dispose (of all) aright for thence they are regulated and thence they arose (namely) from the Good Mind¹]

13 And we make known these our celebrations as the more promotive for this² house for the furtherance of this house and as benefits for this house because of the increase of this household as overcoming the restrictions which impede this household and as overcoming the harmful malice which may mar this house to bless its herds, and its retainers born and yet to be born for the saints of the house as it was aforetime of it as it³ stands here now and to which we likewise now belong as the Saoshyants of the provinces (14) [which (is that we are Saoshyants) for the saints who do good deeds and of the female saints who do good deeds and of the saints who do the deeds conspicuously good and of the females likewise thus of the saints who do good deeds upon good deeds and of the females thus the same]

15 And we make these known in our celebrations to the good Fravashis of the saints which are for midable and overwhelming in their aid 16 And we make these known in our celebrations hereby to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and to the good

¹ Vohu Manah certainly appears the most prominent here. They arose from the good thought of Ahura.

² This office was celebrated in private houses by itinerant priests.

³ Yêvhê aêm might be a citation from some lost prayer. The singular aêm may however be taken collectively, as families are spoken of.

Blessedness and to Nairyasangha, and to the victorious Peace, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire and to the lofty lord for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise to the entire creation of the holy and the clean 17 18 = Visp X 1, 2

19 (Sp XIII) Yea we make that known which is lifted up in offering and which is the Avesta¹ as the holy Ahura Mazda directed that it should be said and as Zarathustra the holy directed, and as I the priest who am acquainted with their sacrifice and homage am now letting it be known I who understand the lawful and legitimate Avesta and the ritual prescripts (20) for Your sacrifice, homage and propitiation O Ye who are the Bountiful Immortals and for our preparation (?) and for the success of our well uttered prayer for blessings for victory sanctification and the well being of our souls, (of ours) for (we are) the holy Saoshyants

21 Yea we make these known in our celebrations here, and we offer them to Him who is Ahura Mazda of all the greatest the master and the Lord

VISPARAD XII (Sp XIV)-

1 For the offered Haomas which have been offered in libation to that lofty Lord Ahura Mazda and to the holy Zarathustra Spitama (produce) abundance in cattle and in men and thus² abundance is (as) the good Sraosha who accompanies (us) with the great

¹ Âvasta probably = Avesta compare Veda The moral and ceremonial laws

Avestic

² Follows Y XXVII

⁴ Hâ seems to have a certain conjunctive force like sa in composition And thereto the good Sraosha or is it an interjection?

splendour of sanctity and may he¹ be here with energetic effort (to aid us in our worship)

2 We offer the wise offerings of the Ahuna vairya intoned with sanctity and yet to be intoned possessing their many teachings of religious wisdom (as they do) and those of the two mortars which pour the Haomas out and which are pushed forward with precision² and are now in the course of being thus advanced once more³ 3 (And so we teach as well the many teachings of the religious wisdom) contained in the words correctly spoken in the Zarathustrian utterances⁴ and in the ceremonies correctly practised and the Baresmans spread exactly, and the Haomas pressed correctly and the praise Yasnas and the doctrines of the Mazdayasnian Religion with their recitations and their movements 4 For thus they may become to us more full of devices and of wisdom and so we offer these wise ritual deeds in the creation, so we impart them with their many points of meaning while we (ourselves) still ponder them as those which Ahura Mazda the holy One delivered, which have (as if) their nourishment from Vohu Manah⁵ and their growth from the Righteous Order which are the greatest of all beings, the best⁶, and the most beautiful, for thus shall these be to us the more full of wisest meaning and more full of incitation⁶, and may we be among those (who are) of Spenta Mainyu's world in that we are imparting (to the chosen) these

¹ Recall *hakâ* of Y XLVI, 1

² With punctilious sanctity

³ The Parsi priests at present make appropriate manipulations here

⁴ In the now ancient Gâthas &c

⁵ Compare *gaêthau vîspæu yæu vohû thraostâ mananghâ*

⁶ Or may we be more zealous than any who are in the creation of the bounteous spirit

precepts of the wisest meaning and these incitations which are contained therein 5 And full of wisest meaning be ye two to us, O (anou) stone mortar and (thou) the iron one as ye are now turned and as we are now being advanced¹ we two mortars of the house [and of the village, of the tribe and of the province and ye who are in this house (itself) 'this village tribe and province] yea in those which are ours Mazdayasnians who are steadfast in our worship who appear with our wood bullets and our perfumes and with our supplicated blessings [(Pa zand) for so may they be to us the more full of wisest teaching]

VISPARAD XIII (SP XV)²

1 According to the ritual we worship Ahura Mazda, according to the ritual we worship the Bountiful Immortals and we sacrifice to the sacrificial word correctly spoken and to every Māthra (as to a sacred word of reason) And we sacrifice to Zarathustra, him who is especially the possessor of the Māthra³ and we sacrifice to the blessings for the saints'⁴ and we worship the 'hail' addressed to the Bountiful Immortals

2 Also we worship the three principal (chapters) uttered (in the Yasna) without addition or omission⁵

¹ Referring to manipulations

² This fragment follows Y XXX in the Vendidad Sādah and was written in allusion to Y XXV-III, Y XXIX and Y XXX

³ Referring to māthra stevāsmā in Yasna XXVIII 8

⁴ Referring to the words savaka ashavabyo in Yasna XXX 11

⁵ Referring to the word ustā in Yasna XXX 11

⁶ The three first chapters XXVIII-XXX the text has bad grammar or broken connection

and we worship the three principal ones without addition or omission, we worship the three commencing ones entire without addition or omission¹ And we worship the entirety² of the three principal ones without addition or omission and their Hās their metrical lines their words and their word structure [and their recital, memorising chanting and their s eadfast offering]

VISPARAD XIV (SP XVI)³

I (We worship Ahura Mazda the holy Lord of the ritual order⁴ and we sacrifice to the Gātha Ahunavaiti) with its measures, and word structure, and its Zand with its questions and counter questions with its words and its metric feet And we sacrifice to these as well recited and now in the course of being recited as well worshipped, and now in the course of being used in worship⁵ 2 (Yea, we sacrifice to it) in

¹ It is difficult to see how *anapishûta* can mean without retrenchment, but the context seems to require it, and the Pahlavi translation bears evidence to it Perhaps read *anapashûta*

² The whole three first Some suppose the three prayers to be intended (the Ahuna vairya the Ashem Vohû and the Yēnhē hātām) I think that the three chapters XXVIII-XXX are meant As the piece follows those three chapters in the Vendîdād Sâdah so its expressions indicate a reference to them. This might tend to show that the Ahunavaiti was at one time if not originally divided at this place

³ This fragment was written in evident allusion to the entire Ahunavaiti which it follows in the Vendîdād Sâdah. It expresses the veneration acquired by the first Gātha long after its composition

⁴ From the Vendîdād Sâdah.

⁵ *Frâyazentām* may be a metaplasm otherwise of the sacrificers

its own 'wisdom' ¹ in its own clearness ² in its own loving intension ² in its sovereignty and its own ritual order and its acquired boon ² which is also that given by Ahura Mazda for the promotion of piety for that thought which originates from the heart devoted self ²

3 (Sp Chapter XVII) Also we worship the Ahuna vairya the holy lord of the ritual order the holy lord with its Ahu and its Ratu [(Pazand) for He is the one with the title Ahu and Ratu who is Ahura Mazda³] 4 And we sacrifice to the constituent parts of the Gâtha Ahanava ti to its chapters and its metrical lines its words and word structure [and to its heard recital and memorised recital its continuous and its steadfast offering]

VISPARAD XV (Sp XVIII)⁴

1 Hold your feet in readiness and your two hands and your understandings⁵ O ye Zarathustrian Mazdayasnians¹ for the well-doing of lawful deeds in accordance with the sacred Order and for the avoidance of the unlawful and evil deeds which are contrary to the ritual Let the good deeds for the furtherance of husbandry be done⁶ here Render ye the needy rich⁷ 2 Let Sraosha (Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda,

¹ Dāmi wi h K₄ Possibly in their own house (dāmi = dāni)

These words probably allude severally say to dam in Y XXXI 7 k-thra in Y XXXI 22 zaoshê n Y XXXIII, 2 to vyaptâ in Y XXVIII 8 to zarzdau in Y XXXI 1

² Erroneous

³ This piece is a later composed prelude to the Haptanghaiti which it precedes in the Vendîdâd Sader.

⁵ Sursum corda¹ ⁶ Comp gavôî ve ezyâ am Y XLVIII 5

⁷ Place the needy with those without need

the most helpful and the holy who is so desired by us in the pronounciation and for the service and the pondering¹ of the Yasna Haptanghâiti for the heart's devotion to it for its memorisation and its victorious and holy recital (or for the victorious saint) without addition or omission (3) which has been intoned and which shall yet be uttered as great powerful, smiting with victory separate from harmful malice for the pronounciation of victorious words for Ahura Mazdas Fire (4 5 are identical with Visp IX 6 7)

VISPARAD XVI (SP XIX)²

1 And we worship the Fire here, Ahura Mazdas son and the Yazads having the seed of fire in them and the Rashnus having the seed of fire³ in them and we worship the Fravashis of the saints And we worship Sraosha who smites with victory and the holy man and the entire creation of the holy (and the clean) 2 And we worship the Blessedness and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint And we worship the saints and their blessed Fravashis (as of one) And we worship all their Fravashis (as considered each apart) and those of the saints within the Province and those of the saints without the Province yca we worship the Fravashis of holy men and holy women (wherever they may be those devoted to the Order of the Faith) And we sacrifice to those whose (service)

¹ Possibly mǎzdataekā

² This piece follows the Haptanghâiti in the Vendidad Sâdah it was intended as a sequel to it

³ Having the power o propagate its worship maintaining it unextinguished De Harlez makes the admirable suggestion bright as flame but the Pahlavi renders tokhmak

for us in the Yasna Ahura Mazda the holy has
 nown as the better¹ and of these Zarathustra is the
 living chief² and master And we sacrifice to the fields
 and the waters the lands and the plants and to the
 constituent parts of the Yasna Haptanghaiti, its
 chapters, its metred lines its words and word
 structure

VISPARAD XVII (SP XX)³

And we strive after the good thoughts words and
 deeds inculcated in the Yasna Haptanghaiti A
 blessing is the Right (called) the Best (there is)
 weal (there is) weal for this (man) when toward
 Righteousness Best (there is) right

VISPARAD XVIII (SP XXI)⁴

1 We worship Ahura Mazda with the usta And
 we worship the Amesha Spenta with the usta and the
 holy man the saint And we worship the prior world
 of the holy (and of the clean) with an usta and the
 state of weal and salvation for the holy man (the saint)
 2 And we worship that life long state of blessed-
 ness (for the holy) which is the evil⁵ man's calamity⁶
 yea we worship his eternal⁷ salvation and with the
 salvation prayer And we sacrifice to every saint who

¹ Comp Y LI 2.

² Anghuska ratuska here referred to the same person comp ahû

³ An addition to chapter XVI

⁴ This piece having reference to various expressions in the
 Gatha Ustavanti follows it in the Vendidad Sadah.

⁵ Referring to ustâ in Y XLIII 1

⁶ See Y XLV 7

⁷ Akaranem=the eternal thing otherwise an adjective of two
 terminations or finally read âm

exists who is now coming into existence and who shall exist in future

VISPARAD XIX (Sp XXII)¹

1 We worship Ahura Mazda the bountiful and we worship the Bountiful Immortals (saying the Spenta) And we sacrifice to the bountiful saint and to the bountiful anticipative understanding² Also we sacrifice to the good and bountiful Âramaiti (the ready mind) And we worship her together with³ the bountiful creatures in the creation of the pure And we sacrifice to the holy creatures who have intelligence as their first⁴ (to those foremost in their mind) And we worship the omniscient understanding and Him who is Ahura Mazda (Himself) 2 And we sacrifice to the shining sun which is the highest of the high yea we worship the sun together with the Bountiful Immortals, and the Mâthras with their good ceremonies⁵ Also we sacrifice to the glorious achievements and to this glory (which we have gained) And we sacrifice to the herds which have the Fire and its blessings⁶ Also we worship the holy benefit which is so widely

¹ The word *spenta* throughout alludes to the Gâtha *Spentâ mainyu* but it is of course not without grammatical application

² In the Bundahis especially referred to Ahura.

³ Or together with the bountiful creatures we worship the holy creatures

⁴ This expression may have been accidentally determined by the position of the word *manô* in the Ahuna vairyâ formula, see Y XIX, 12

⁵ Or the well fulfilled

⁶ Fire made is unintelligible fire gifts-having may refer to the flocks and herds as expressing the source of that prosperity which is represented by the holy Fire

diffused¹ and that wisdom which is the bounteous Âramaiti, whose are the laws² of the Righteous Order and of those holy creatures who have Righteousness as their first

VISPARAD XX (SP XXIII)³

1 (Homage to the Gâtha Vohu khshathra⁴ We sacrifice to the Vohu khshathra) (the good kingdom) even the Khshathra vairyâ the kingdom to be desired and we sacrifice to the iron founding and to the (sacrificial) words⁵ correctly spoken which smite (the foe) with victory and which hold the Daêvas subject

And we worship that reward and that health, that healing and that progress that growth and that victorious smiting⁷ (2) which are between the Vohu khshathra and the Vahistôisti⁸ (and which are acquired by us) by the memorised recital of the good thoughts good words and good deeds for the withstanding of evil thoughts and words and deeds yea for the undoing of all treacherous thoughts (directed) against me and of all false words and unfair deeds 3 [And we sacrifice to the later Yasna the heroic Haptanghaiti (and which as it recurs becomes) the holy ritual chief]

¹ Pahl fravašt sud

² Dathra with K₄

³ This piece from the later Avesta follows Y LI in the Vendîdâd Sâdah

⁴ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah

⁵ Associated with this Gâtha from Y LI 9

⁶ Compare Y LI 3 ⁷ Y LI 9 also perhaps Y LII* 8 9

⁸ Between that is described in the space between the Vohu khshathra and the Vahistôisti i.e. in Y LII See hamistee in Y LII 4 and partistâteê in Visp XX 2

* This would seem misplaced perhaps Y XLII is meant which follows the Haptanghaiti

VISPARAD XXI (Sp XXIV)

1 We strive earnestly and we take up our Yasna and our homage to the good waters and to the fertile fruit trees (which bear as of themselves) and to the Fravashis of the saints yea we take up our Yasna and our homage earnestly to those beings which are (so) good the waters and the trees and the Fravashis of the saints (2) and to the Kine, and to Gaya (Maretan) and to the Māthra Spenta (the bounteous word of reason) the holy, which works (within and for us with effect) to these we take up our Yasnas and our homage with earnest zeal and to Thee O Ahura Mazda¹ and to thee O Zarathustra we do the same and to thee O lofty lord (the Apām napât) and to the Bountiful Immortals 3 And we sacrifice to the listening (that hears our prayers) and to that mercy and to the hearing of (our spoken) homage and to that mercy which is (shown in response to our offered) praise And we sacrifice to the frârâiti vidushê which is contained in the piece hvâdaênâis ashaonîs and we sacrifice to 'the good praise which is without hypocrisy and which has no malice (as its end) and we sacrifice to the later Yasna and to its offering and we sacrifice to the chapters of the later Yasna and to its metrical lines its words and word structure

VISPARAD XXII (Sp XXV)

With this chant (fully) chanted and which is for the Bountiful Immortals and the holy Saoshyants (who are the prophets who shall serve us), and by means of these (ceremonial) actions, which are (of all)

the best, we desire to utter our supplications for the Kine. It is that chant which the saint has recognised as good and fruitful of blessed gifts and which the sinner does not know¹. May we never reach that (ill luck that the sinner) may outstrip us (in our chanting), not in the matter of a plan (thought out) or of words (delivered) or ceremonies (done²), nor yet in any offering whatever when he (?) approaches (us for harm).

VISPARAD XXIII (SP XXVI)³

1 We worship Ahura Mazda as the best⁴ (worship to be offered in our gifts). We worship the Amesha Spenta (once more and as) the best. We worship Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to those (prayers) which are evident as the best, that is, the Praises of the Yasnas.

Also we sacrifice to that best wish, which is that of Asha Vahista and we worship Heaven which is the best world of the saints bright and all-glorious, and we sacrifice likewise to that best approach which leads to⁵ it. 2 And we sacrifice to that reward

¹ The parties are divided by knowledge and ignorance (compare the Gnosis). See Y XXX¹, 12.

² No in thought word or deed may we reach (his) priority in progress.

³ This piece from the later Avesta follows Y LIII, in the Vendidad Sâdah and has reference to its expressions.

⁴ It is an important suggestion which holds vahistem as equal to saying vahistem in allusion to the Vahistâ ista, but as the word is inflected further on (see vahistahê) and as it moreover once applies to Asha as Asha Vahista, it is better to render it as having adjective application throughout being none the less of course, an intentional echo of the first word of Y LIII 1.

⁵ Or 'of it

health healing furtherance and increase, and to that victory which is within ¹ the two, the Ahuna vairyā and the Airyemā ishyō, through the memorised recital of the good thoughts, words, and deeds (which they enjoin)

¹ Possibly between them meaning the Gāthas which are so placed

ÂFRÎNAGÂN

ÂFRÎNAGÂN

AS to the present use of these blessings says Haug (ed West) Âfrînagan are blessings which are to be recited over a meal consisting of wine milk and fruits to which an angel or the spirit of a deceased person is invited and in whose honour the meal is prepared. After the consecration (which only a priest can perform) is over the meal is eaten by those who are present. The performance of these Âfrînagân is required of every Parsi at certain fixed seasons of the year. These are the six Gahanbârs each lasting five days (at the six original seasons of the year) for which the Âfrînagan Gahanbar is intended the five Gâtha days (the five last days of the year) during which the Âfrînagân Gâtha must be used and lastly the third day (Ardibahist) of the first month (Fravardin) in the year, at which the performance of Âfrînagan Rapithwîn devoted to the spirit presiding over the southern quarter (who is the guardian of the way to paradise) is enjoined to every Parsi whose soul wants to pass the *Kinvad* after death. (Essays 2nd edition page 224.)

I AFRIN[AGAN] GAHANBAR¹

I I confess myself a Mazda worshipper and of Zarathustra's order a foe of the Daêvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for the holy Hâvanî¹ the regulator of the ritual order (and its lord in its turn) for its sacrifice homage propitiation and praise (and I confess myself) for Sâvanghî and for Visva the holy lords of the ritual order, for their sacrifice homage,

¹ The Âfrin for the morning hours from 6 to 10

propitiation and praise and for that of the Asnya the day lords of the days during daylight and of the days in their length for the Mahya month lords and the Yâirya year-lords and for those of the especial seasons and for the worship homage propitiation and praise of that lofty lord who is the Ritual Righteousness (itself), yea for the worship homage, propitiation and praise of the lords of the days months years and seasons—for those lords of the ritual order who are of all the greatest who are the regulators of the ritual at the time of Havani

2 To Maidhyô zaremya¹ the lord [or to Maidhyô shema¹ the lord or to Paitishahya¹ the lord or to Ayâthrima¹ Maidhyairya¹ or Hamaspathmaedhaya] be propitiation homage and praise

3 O ye Mazdayasnians who are here present¹ offer ye² this ritual service and present ye the Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô zaremya taking a piece of sound flesh from a choice beast with a full flow of milk

4 If ye are able to do this (well) if ye are unable to do it ye may take then (1 portion) of some liquor of equal value it matters not which it is and have it consumed as it is proper and so be ye discreet from your obedience most correctly faithful in your speech most saintly from your sanctity best ordered in your exercise of power least straitened by oppressions, heart easy with rejoicings most merciful of givers most helpful to the poor fulfilling most the ritual the blest and longed for Asha (coy[?]) riches woman minded ([?]) bringing (as reward) If ye can do this

¹ The name of the season at the time present when the text is recited is to be used

² Bring ye O these Mazdayasnians!

and with vigour (well) (5) 1 not bring wood to the Ratu's house It matters not what kind so it be well cut and very dry and in loads of fitting size If that is possible, (well) if not then let a man bring wood to the Ratu's dwelling and heap it up as high as the ear or to reach the fore shoulder, or with the fore arm measure (or at least as high as the end of the hanging hand) If that is possible (well) (6) but if it has not been possible then let the worshipper (with the mind's offering) ascribe the power to him who rules the best Ahura, (saying¹) Wherefore for this cause verily we offer and ascribe the Sovereign Power to Ahura Mazda who rules the best and to Righteousness (the ritual and moral Order) and we complete our sacrifice to them Thus is the Myazda offered with the well timed prayer for blessings

7 In case that a man does not give of the first Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô-zaremaya O Spitama Zarathustra! the Ratu that has the right to that Myazda and who has this person under his guidance expels² that (false) disciple who has not his Myazda with him as a man that does not worship from the midst of the Mazda worshippers 8 In the case that a man does not give of the second Myazda O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of the Maidhyô shema then let² the Ratu to whom the Myazda should come, and who has the person under his guidance expel that disciple since he comes without his Myazda as he would a man who refuses to recite his vows from among the number of the Mazda

¹ Or because we offer

² Not renders him (detected) among the Mazdayasnans compare for form *antare mrtâyê* see also *fra-dast* and *fra perena oti* also the present may be used for the imperative

worshippers 9 In the case that a man does not give of the third Myazda O Spitama Zarathustra¹ which is that of Paitishahya then let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda and who has had the person under his guidance expel that disciple which brings no Myazda as a detected¹ reprobate from among the number of the Mazdayasnians 10 In case that a man does not offer of the fourth Myazda O Spitama Zarathustra¹ which is that of the Ayâthrîma let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda and who has the person under his guidance, expel that disciple since he brings no Myazda as a refuse² beast from among the number of the Mazdayasnians 11 In the case that a man does not give of the fifth Myazda which is that of the Maidhyâiryâ then let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite and who has that person under his guidance expel him since he brings no Myazda as an alien³ from among the number of the Mazdayasnians 12 In case that a man does not give of the sixth Myazda which is that of the Hamaspathmaêdhaya, O Spitama Zarathustra¹ let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite, and who has this person under his discipline to learn him the lore of Ahura expel him (as ignorant) since he brings no Myazda from among the number of the Mazdayasnians 13 And let him decry him afterwards without hesitation⁴, and drive⁵ him out, and let that Ratu lay upon him after

¹ Possibly having a breast burnt by the ordeal and so detected or hot breasted, vehement (?) compuras

² It may be (his) excluded beast or his stray beast (?)

³ Or possibly he is rejected when offering himself as arrived from the settlements (?)

⁴ Without recoiling

⁵ Syazdayôit

wards the expiating deeds without reserve, and in accordance with these rules let the disciple create the Ratu (Let him beware of failure to bring his Myazda or if he fails let the disciple bear as is befitting what is due) A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, it is weal, it is weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best there is right.

14 I bless with my prayer the royal Province-chiefs (who are faithful worshippers) of Ahura Mazda the resplendent, the glorious (beseeching) for superior strength for them, and for more important victory and more influential rule, and desiring for them further authoritative power and helpful support and long duration to their reign and the prolonged vitality of their frames and health 15 And I pray in my benediction for strength well shaped and stately of growth and which smites victoriously Ahura made and crushing and for an ascendancy abundantly subduing all who are filled with furious hate, assaulting the evil-minded enemies and destroying as if at once the deadly godless¹ foes

16 And I pray in my blessing that he (the province-governor) may conquer in victorious battles every malicious foe and each malignant profane in thoughts and words and actions (17) that he may indeed be constantly victorious in his own religious thoughts and words and deeds and unvarving in the smiting of every foe and of every Daeva worshipper and that he may as he proceeds be well rewarded and of good repute possessing a far foreseeing preparation of the soul 18 And I pray with blessings thus Live thou long and blessed be

¹ Unfriendly and untrue, * avratyá.

² Recall you zaxetê vanghan srivahí

thou hail to thee live for the aid of holy men
and for the crushing of the evil and I pray for
Heaven (for thee) the best world of the saints
shining all glorious And thus may it happen as I
pray—¹ 19 And I bless in my prayer the sacrifice
and homage and the strength and swiftness of the
day lords during daylight and of the lords of the days
in their length of the month lords and the year lords
and of the lords of the seasons² (in their course) and
for the worship homage propitiation and praise of
the lofty lord who is the Righteous Ritual itself
and of those lords of the ritual who are of all the
greatest and who are the lords of the ritual at the
time of Hâvanî for Maidhyo zaremayâ the lord [(or)
for Maidhyô shema the lord (or) for Paitishahya² the
lord, or for Ayâthrima Maidhyâiryâ or Hamaspath-
maêdhaya ⁺³]

II AFRÎN[-AGAN]⁴ GÂTHA⁴

1 As the Ahû is (revered and) to be chosen so (is)
the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a
creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done
for Ahura and the Kingdom (is) to Mazda which to
the poor may offer a nurturer

I confess myself a Mazda worshipper—for the
praise of Ahura Mazda the resplendent, the glorious
and of the Bountiful Immortals for the bountiful and

¹ See Y XXXV 2 The Ahuna follows

² The name varies with the season in which the sacrifice is made

³ As in 18

⁴ Recited during the days called after the Gathas the last five
of the year A long period of time must have elapsed since the
Gâthas were composed as they probably were not originally five
and yet seem to have been only remembered as such

holy Gathas which rule in the ritual order (Propitiation and praise be) to the Gatha Ahunavaiti and to the Gâtha Ustavaiti to the Gatha Spenta mainyu and to the Gatha Vohu khshathra and to the Gâtha Vahistôisti 2 Propitiation to the Fravashis of the saints the mighty overwhelming even to those of the saints of yore who held the primeval faith (the Gâthic faith) and to those of the next of kin

3 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the resplendent the glorious and we sacrifice to the Amesha Spenta who rule aright and who dispose (of all aright) And we sacrifice to the bounteous and holy Gathas which rule (as the first) in the ritual order

We sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy as it rules in the ritual order, and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Ustavaiti the holy as it rules in the ritual order and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Spentâ mainyu the holy as it rules in the ritual order and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vohu khshathra the holy as it rules in the ritual order and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vahistôisti the holy as it rules in the ritual order 4 = Yt. XIII 49-52¹

III AFRÎN[-AGÂN] RAPITHVIN²

1 I confess myself a Mazda worshipper of Zarathustra's order a foe to the Daêvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for Rapithwina the holy lord of the ritual order for sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise and for Frâdaz fshu³ and Zantuma⁴

¹ Verses 5 6 = A 1 14-18 for verse 6 see verses 1 2 also see Â I 19

² To be recited on the third day (Ardibahist) of the first month (Fravardin)

³ A genius who furthered cattle

⁴ The genius of the Zantu presiding over this Gâh Rapithvin

the holy lord(s) of the ritual order 2 And to Ahura Mazda the resplendent the glorious and to the Bountiful Immortals be propitiation and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to the Fire Ahura Mazda's son, and to all the holy Yazads heavenly and earthly and to the Fravashis of the saints the mighty and overwhelming—

3 For thus did Ahura Mazda speak to Spitama Zarathustra the word which was spoken for the ritual time of the Rapithwina (saying) Ask us, O holy Zarathustra¹ what are Thy questions to be asked of us for Thy question is as that mighty one when Thy ruler speaks his mighty wish¹ 4 Then Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda O Ahura Mazda most bountiful³ creator of the material worlds and holy¹ what does that man acquire what does he merit, what reward shall there be for that man (5) who shall recite the Rapithwina office with the Rapithwina prayer for blessing and who shall sacrifice with⁴ the Rapithwina office with hands (well) washed and with (well) washed mortars with the Baresman spread and with Haoma high uplifted and with fire brightly flaming with Ahuna vairya loud intoned with Haoma moistened tongue and with a body Māthra bound² 6 And Ahura Mazda answered him As the wind from the southern quarter O Spitama¹ causes the entire material world to advance and to increase and as it will bless it⁵ rejoice it and cause it to progress⁶ such a like reward does such a man receive (7) who

Erroneous ² Ahmai see Y XLIII 10 with ahma

¹ Insert spuit ⁴ Or to

Saoshyati/ā or can saoshyanti be a locative absolute preserving a fuller form?

⁶ Or causes it to enter into helpful joy (?)

recites the Rapithwina ratu with the Rapithwina blessing and sacrifices with¹ it with (well) washed hands and mortars with Baresman spread and Haoma lifted, with fire brightly flaming, and with Ahuna vairya loud intoned and with Haoma moistened tongue and a body Mâthra bound¹ 8 Thus hath Ahura Mazda declared to Spîtaṃa Zarathustra the word which (should be) spoken at the Rapithwina time 9 10 (See Â I 14-19)

¹ Or to

THE GÂHS

THE Gâhs are the five divisions of the day The Hâvanti from 6 to 10 A M the Rapithwina from 10 A M to 3 P M the Uzayêirina from 3 to 6 P M, the Airisrôthrina from 6 to 12 P M the Ushahina from 12 P M to 6 A M The Gâhs here following are prayers which must be recited at the Gâhs of the day hence their name¹

I THE GAH HAVAN²

Unto Ahura Mazda be propitiation A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best—

1 I confess myself a Mazda worshipper of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for the holy Havani, regulator of the ritual order for its sacrifice homage propitiation, and praise and for Sâvanghi and Visya the righteous regulator(s) of the ritual order for their homage sacrifice propitiation and praise, and for those of the Asnya the day lords during daylight and the Ayara lords of the days in their length, and for the Mâhya, the month lords, and the Yârya year lords, and for those of the especial seasons

2 And to Mithra of the wide pastures of the thousand ears of the myriad eyes the Yazad of the spoken name³, be sacrifice homage propitiation and praise, and to Raman Hvâstra

3, 4 And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy

¹ The term Gâh, itself may have arisen from the practice of chanting the Gathas at different fixed times in the day

² To be recited every day at the time of Havani

³ Having a special Yast.

lord of the ritual Order and to Zarathustra, and to the Fravashî of Zarathustra the saint And we sacrifice to the Bounteous Immortals (the guardians) of the saints and to the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints (of the living and of the dead) of the bodily and of those in heaven And we sacrifice to the highest of the lords the one that most attains its ends and we sacrifice to the most strenuous of the Yazads the most satisfying of the lords of the ritual order the one who reaches (what he seeks) the most infallibly of those who have as yet approached the nearest in the ritual even to the timely prayer of the saint who rules in the ritual order 5 And we sacrifice to the Havanî, the holy lord of the ritual order and to the Universal Weal the holy ruling in the ritual order and to Deathlessness the holy ruling in the ritual order And we sacrifice to the question and lore of the holy lord of the ritual And we sacrifice to that heroic mighty Yasna the Haptangha ti the lord of the ritual order 6 And we sacrifice to Sâvanghî and Visya the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and we sacrifice to the Airyema ishyô¹ the holy lord of the ritual order the powerful victoriously smiting that which no hate can reach which overwhelms all torments and which passes over all torments with victory which is the uppermost and the middle and the foremost for the effective invocation of that surpassing Mâthra the five Gâthas

7 8 And we sacrifice to Mithra of the wide pastures— and to Raman Hvâstra for the worship and exaltation of Visya the chief And we sacrifice to

¹ The personified prayer see Y I IV

Vîsya the holy lord of the ritual order and to Mithra and to Râman *Hvâstra* —

9-11 And we sacrifice to thee the Fire O Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to this Baresman which has the Zaothra with it, and the girdle with it and which is spread with exact sanctity itself the holy lord And we sacrifice to the Apâm napât and to Nairyasîngha and to that Yazad the swift curse of he who And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead [which are the Fravashis of the saints] And we worship that exalted Lord who is Ahura Mazda the highest object of the ritual order who is the one who has attained the most to homage in the ritual And we sacrifice to all the words which Zarathustra spoke and to all the deeds well done, and to those which shall yet be done in days to come (And) we sacrifice to that male one of beings whose (gift) in the offering Ahura both know to be better and of female saints the same As the Ahû is to be (revered and) chosen so (is) the Ratu one who rules from the Righteous Order a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which o the poor shall offer a nurturer—

II GAH RAPITHVIN¹

1 Propitiation to Ahura Mazda A blessing is Asha Vahîsta I confess as a Mazda worshipper and of Zarathustra's order—for Rapitwîra the holy lord of the ritual order for sacrifice homage propitiation and for praise and for Fradat'shu and Zantum the holy lord(s) of the ritual order for sacrifice homage

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Rapithwina

propitiation and for praise 2 And propitiation be to Asha Vahista and to Ahura Mazda's Fire for sacrifice homage propitiation and praise¹ 3 4 (See Y LXXI 2 3)

5 And we sacrifice to the Rapithwina the holy lord of the ritual order and to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti the holy and ruling in the ritual order and to the Gatha Ustavaiti and to the Gâtha Spentâ manyu and to the Gâtha Vohu khshathra and to the Gâtha Vahistôsti holy and ruling in the ritual order 6 And we sacrifice to Frâdat fshu and to Zantuma and to the Fshushô mâtthra even to the word correctly spoken and we sacrifice to the (many) words correctly spoken even to the victorious ones which slay the Demon gods (the Daevas⁴) And we sacrifice to the waters and the lands and to the plants and to the heavenly Yazads who are givers of the holy and the good And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals (the guardians) of the saints

7 And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the heights of Asha (called) Vahista and to the greatest Mâtthras as moving us to action the greatest as teaching faithfulness to holy vows the greatest as referring to actions which are evidently just and the greatest for the acquisition of the Mazdayasnian Faith 8 And we sacrifice to that assembly and reunion which the Bountiful Immortals hold when they gather (?) on the heights of Heaven for the sacrifice and homage of Zantuma, the lord

And we (therefore) sacrifice to Zantuma (as) the holy lord of the ritual order 9 And we sacrifice

¹ The Ahuna follows

Zarathustra conquered the Demon with the Ahuna varrya.

to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to the Fire Ahura Mazda's son— 10 Yea we sacrifice to Thee the Fire Ahura Mazda's son the holy ritual lord—

I bless the sacrifice homage strength and swiftness of Asha Vahista and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda— And to his one be the glory!

III GÂH UZIKEN¹

1 Propitiation to Ahura Mazda! A blessing is Asha Vahista— I confess myself a Mazdašnîan of the order of Zarathustra, a foe to the Dævas devoted to the lore of the Lord for the Uzayêrîna the holy lord of the ritual order for sacrifice homage propitiation and praise and for Frâdatvîra and Daŵyuma the holy lord(s) of the ritual order for their sacrifice homage propitiation and praise 2 And to that lofty Ahura Apâm napât and to the waters which Mazda created be sacrifice homage propitiation and praise! 3 4 (G I, 4) 5 We sacrifice to the Uzayêrîna, the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to the Zaoatar, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Hâvanan, and to the Âtarevakhsha and to the Frabaretar, and to the Abereš and to the Asratar and the Raêthwiskar and to the Sraoshâvareza holy lords of the ritual order 6 And we sacrifice to Frâdatvîra and Daŵyuma, the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to the stars the moon, and the sun and to the constellations(?) and we sacrifice to the stars without beginning (to their course?) and to the glory of the doctrinal proclama

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Uzayêrîna

² The Ahuna follows

tions which are the evil man's distress¹ 7 And we sacrifice to the manifest performer of the truth (the correct maintainer of the rites) the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to the later lore yea we sacrifice to the manifest fulfiller of the truth and to the (ent re) creation of the holy (and the clean) by day and by night with Zaothras together with offered prayers for the sacrifice and homage of *Dahvyuma* the lord And we sacrifice to *Dahvyuma* the holy lord of the ritual order 8 And we sacrifice to that lofty and royal lord the brilliant *Apām napāt* of the fleet horses and we sacrifice to the water which is Mazda made and holy 9 10 And we sacrifice to thee the Fire Ahura Mazda's son² 11³ And I bless the sacrifice homage strength and swiftness of that lofty Ahura *Napať apām* and of the water which Mazda created⁴

IV GAH AIWISRŪTHRIMA

1 Propitiation be to Ahura Mazda A blessing is Asha Vahista— I confess myself a Mazdayasnian and of Zrathustras order a foe to the Daēvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for *Aiwisrūthrīma* and *Aibigay*⁵ the holy lord(s) of the ritual order for their sacrifice homage propitiation and praise and for *Fradať vispām hugyāiti*⁷ and *Zarathustrōtema*⁸ the holy lord(s) of the ritual order for their sacrifice homage, propitiation and praise 2 And to the

¹ See Y XLV 7

The Yenhe hatām here follows

² The Ahuna follows.

³ The Ashem follows

Recited every day at the hour of *Aiwisrūthrīma*

⁵ Or that furthers life

⁷ The genius presiding over all that furthers happiness

The genius presiding over the highest office in a province

Fravashis of the saints and to the women who have many sons, and to that prosperity of home which lasts without reverse throughout the year and to Strength well-shaped and stately, and to the victorious Blow Ahura given, and for the crushing Ascendency which it bestows, (to all) be propitiation— 3, 4 (See Gâh I 3 4) 5 And we sacrifice to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya the holy lord(s) of the ritual order and to thee, O Ahura Mazda's Fire¹ And we sacrifice to the stone mortar and to the iron mortar and to this Baresman spread with sanctity, with the Zaothra, and with its girdle, holy lords of the ritual order Also we sacrifice to the sacred two, to the waters and the plants and to the sacred vows for the soul (as) holy lord(s) of the ritual order 6 Also we sacrifice to Frâdat-vispâmhugyâti (as) ruling in the ritual order and we sacrifice to Zarathustra, the holy lord of the ritual also we sacrifice to the Mâthra Spenta, (the bounteous word of reason¹), and to the soul of the Kine and to the Zarathustrôtema² 7 Also we sacrifice to the Fire priest, the holy lord of the ritual order and to the charioteer (the warrior), the holy lord of the ritual order Also we sacrifice to the thrifty tiller of the earth, the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to the house lord, and to the village-chief and to the Zantû-chief, and to the province-chief of the province, the holy lord of the ritual order 8 And we sacrifice to the youth of the good thoughts good words, and good deeds, even to the youth of good conscience, the holy lord of the ritual order yea we

¹ The Gâthas and Vendidad, the first verse of the Gâthas mentions the Kine's soul.

² And to Zarathustra.

sacrifice to the youth of the spoken word (who spoke the words which we hold so dear¹) the holy lord of the ritual order Yea we sacrifice to the youth who is given to his kin (and married to his blood) the holy lord of the ritual order And we sacrifice to him who ranges through the province² and to the itinerant with his many arts³ the holy ritual lords And we sacrifice to the house mistress holy and ruling in the ritual order 9 And we sacrifice to the holy woman forward⁴ in good thoughts, and words and deeds, receiving her instructions well having her husband as her lord the holy, and such as Aramaiti the bounteous, is and such as are thy wives, O Mazda Lord!

And we sacrifice to the holy man most forward in good thoughts and words and works wise as to piety simple as to sin by whose deeds the settlements advance in the holy order for the worship and homage of the Zarathustrôtema the lord And we sacrifice to the Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order 10 And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to that Prosperity which endures throughout the year, and to the well shaped and stately Strength And we sacrifice to the Blow of Victory, Ahura-given and to the crushing Ascendency which it secures 11, 12 (See Gâh I 9 10) 13 (The Ahuna-vairya, &c)

¹ See Yast XXII

² It is very probable that the Yasna was at that period celebrated from house to house

³ Medical?

⁴ Is it possibly favouring good thoughts &c ?

V GAH USHAHIN¹

1 Propitiation to Ahura Mazda I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper of the order of Zarathustra a foe to the Daêvas devoted to the lore of the Lord for the Ushahina for sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise and to Beregya and Nmanya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order 2 Propitiation be to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed endowed with recompense smiting with the blow of victory and causing the settlements to advance and to increase

3 4 (See Gâh I 3 4) 5 We sacrifice to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and we sacrifice to the beautiful Aurora and to the dawn of morning yea we sacrifice to the morning, the shining of the glittering horses having the men of forethought (as its servants) yea, having men of forethought and heroes (awake and at their work) to the morning which gives light within the house² And we sacrifice to the lights of dawn which are radiant with their light and fleetest horses which sweep over (?) the seven fold earth And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy lord of the ritual order and to the Good Mind, and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Khshathra vairya, and to Aramaiti the bounteous and the good

6 And we sacrifice to Beregya even the holy lord of the ritual order even to Nmanya with the longing desire for the good Asha and with the longing desire for the good Mazdayasnian law for the worship

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Ushahina.

So better than royal which is however possible

² Or while it abides

and homage of Nmânya the lord 7 And we sacrifice
 to Sraosha, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to
 Arstât who causes the settlements to advance and
 to increase 8 9 (See Gâh I 9 10) 10 And I
 bless the sacrifice homage strength, and swiftness
 of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with
 sanctity smiting with the blow of victory and who
 causes the settlements to advance and I bless the
 sacrifice of Rashnu the most just, and that of Arstât,
 who causes the settlements to advance and to in
 crease

¹ The Ashem and the Ahmai raêsha

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

I

1 (An incitation to the priest or worshipper) As thou keepest company with the Good Mind, and with Righteousness the Best, and with Khshathra vairya (the Kingdom to be desired), speak to the male and female disciples of Zarathustra Spitama the saint (and declare) the praise which is to be spoken that of the Yasna, even the words against which no anger¹ shall prevail

2 And do thou, O Zarathustra² declare our words for sacrifice and worship ours, the Bountiful Immortals that the waters may (thus) be sacrificed to by thee and the plants the Fravashis of the saints, and the created Yazads heavenly and earthly, which are holy and beneficent

II

1 I confess myself a Mazda worshipper—for the praise of Thraëtaona the Athwyan Let them declare it— Propitiation be to the Fravashi of Thraëtaona the Athwyan, the saint. 2 We sacrifice to Thraëtaona, the Athwyan, the holy lord of the ritual order, and may we be free from the dog Kuro³ and the Tarewani³ and the Karpan, (we who are) of⁴ those who sacrifice in order 3 (The Ahuna

¹ Other s the unrestricted words.

² Perhaps 'Zarathustra' is here merely the equivalent of 'priest'

³ Obscure

⁴ Awkward formation.

follows) Sacrifice homage strength and swiftness
be to the Fravashi of Thraetaona, the saint (The
Ahem and Ahmai raêsa follow)

III

1 All good thoughts and all good words and all
good deeds are thought and spoken and done with
intelligence and all evil thoughts and words and
deeds are thought and spoken and done with folly
2 And let (the men who think and speak and do)
all good thoughts and words and deeds inhabit¹
Heaven (as their home) And let those who think
and speak and do evil thoughts and words and
deeds abide in Hell For to all who think good
thoughts speak good words and do good deeds
Heaven the best world belongs And this is evident
and as of course (?) (or and therewith their seed)

IV

1 I proclaim the Airyama ishyo as the greatest
of all authoritative prayers O Spitama¹ as the most
influential and helpful for progress and may the
Saoshyants (who would further us) use it and
revere it

2 I am speaking in accordance with it O Spitama¹
and therefore I shall rule as sovereign over creatures
which are mine I who am Ahura Mazda Let no
one rule as Angra Mainyu² over realms that are his
own O Zurathustra Spitama¹ 3 Let Angra Mainyu
be hid beneath the earth³ Let the Daevas likewise

¹ Ashacra = a + shaçta used subjunctively

² Insert of the evil faith

³ In Y IX 14 15 it is the Ahuna varva which drives the
Daevas beneath the earth

disappear Let the dead arise (unhindered by these foes) and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies

V

1 To Ahura Mazda, the radiant the glorious to the Bountiful Immortals to Force well shaped and stately to the Blow of Victory Ahura given to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures) to the path of pleasantness to the good Zarenumant¹ to the Glowing Mountain made by Mazda and to all the Yazads¹ 2 We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious and to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright who dispose (of all) aright, and to Force well shaped and stately and to the Blow of Victory, and to the Ascendency of Victory and to the path of pleasantness and to Zarenumant the good which Mazda created and to the Glowing Mount and to every saint

VI²

Propitiation be to the created body of the Kine of blessed endowment and to the Kine's soul (so if there is one cow presented) Propitiation be to the body and soul of you two (so if there are two³) —To your body and soul (if there are three, or the entire herd³) (The Ahuna follows)

¹ According to the Bundahish the name of a lake

² This fragment was spoken when the milk was drawn from the cow or cows for the offering, and when the water was received with which the udder of the cow was to be washed (Sp transl. vol. iii p. 254)

³ These words are in Persian introduced as rubric

VII¹

1 To the good waters, and to all the waters which Mazda created, and to that lofty lord, Apām-napât and to thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura that water which Mazda created¹ be sacrifice, homage propitiation and praise (The Ahuna follows) 2 We utter our praises forth to thee O Ahurian One of Ahura¹ and we complete good sacrifices and deeds of adoration with good gifts of offering and gifts with praise which are appropriate to thee among the holy Yazads I will seek to render thee content I will pour thee out [Let them now recite the lofty Gâthas which belong to the ritual]

VIII²

1 The moons* of the season will ware Let the Mazdayasnian (prav) for a smiter who may destroy quickly (the demon who causes their decrease) And quickly indeed may the malignant one die off— For no one of her adherents can maintain this Drug(k) by prayers

2 Smiting fiercely³ with her weapon, she the Drug(k) goes on and most mighty she has been And she wanders on O Zarathustra! as mindful of her might, and strong⁴ in proportion as she advances

¹ This was to be spoken when the vessel containing the Zaotras was taken in hand (Sp)

² This fragment is very much broken in its connections and most corrupt in its grammatical forms The translation is entirely conjectural Section IX has also 1 regular ties

³ Some form of dva may be conjectured

⁴ With her weapon

as the sinful Drug(k) But may Khshathra¹ be with me— so that the deadly one may die away for thereupon the blow of destruction shall come upon the Drug(k)²

IX

1 The Ahuna vairya is a prayer to be (revered and) chosen as the choice one of Mazda The Khshathra vairya is likewise such, and the Yâ daêna³ They (it) will gain the reward Yathâ ahû vairyô It is the word of Mazda They are the words in season It is the Mâthra spenta word, the unsubdued the undeceived the victorious, the opponent of malice, the healing and victorious word of Mazda, which as it is pronounced⁴, gives most the victory to him who utters it 2 I have declared the nymn which is most helpful and victorious against the words of Aêshma, which is health giving and healing, and conducive to progress the multiplier, and the furtherer of growth And let the worshipper present it with a liberal offering with its pleasing words Let that be done through veritable grace which helps us on the most⁵ The Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor may grant a nurturer⁶

¹ Khshathra?

² See Y XXX 10

³ So I conjecture as the commencing words of some piece

⁴ For healing

⁵ Y L, 11

⁶ Last line of the Ahuna

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In addition to the occurrences cited above, the words *aēshma*, aka *manah*, *ameretātār amesha spenta*, *asha*, *ashu vangubh*, *asnya*, *āramati*, *ātharvan drūg*, *frashakarā*, *ganrak minavad*, *haurvatāt*, *ītu*, *khshathra*, *kuvat*, *īsti*, *mazdayasuan*, *māhya*, *māthia*, *ratu*, *spenta mainyu*, *sraosha*, *vahlita manah*, *verethraghna*, *vīsyā yobu manah*, *zaotar* occur as translated

With regard to the subject indexed as the originality of the Gāthas, it is not intended to deny that the original migrations of the enure Aryan race may have been from the North west

On page 198 read *Maidhyō-shema*, *Maidhyō zaremaya*, p 204, *gyāiti* p 209, *gyāite*

	k	kh	g	gh	ng	h	hs	k	kh
1 Tenuis	က	ခ				ဟ		က	ခ
2 aspirata	ဂ	ဃ				စ		ဂ	ဃ
3 Media	င	ဇ				ဆ		င	ဇ
4 aspirata	ည	ဋ				ဗ		ည	ဋ
5 Gutturo labialis	တ	ထ				ဒ		တ	ထ
6 Nasalis	န	မ				လ		န	မ
7 Spiritus asper	ပ	ဖ				ရ		ပ	ဖ
8 lenis	ဘ	ဍ				သ		ဘ	ဍ
9 asper faucalis	ဉ	ဏ				ဓ		ဉ	ဏ
10 lenis faucalis	ဠ	အ				ဣ		ဠ	အ
11 asper fricatus	ဥ	ဦ				ဧ		ဥ	ဦ
12 lenis fricatus	ဪ	ါ				ာ		ဪ	ါ

	k	kh	g	gh	ng	h	hs	k	kh	g	gh
13 Tenuis	က	ခ				ဟ		က	ခ		
14 aspirata	ဂ	ဃ				စ		ဂ	ဃ		
15 Media	င	ဇ				ဆ		င	ဇ		
16 aspirata	ည	ဋ				ဗ		ည	ဋ		
17 Nasalis	တ	ထ				ဒ		တ	ထ		